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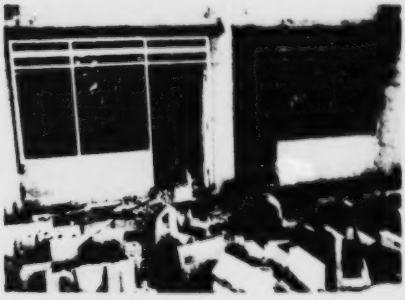
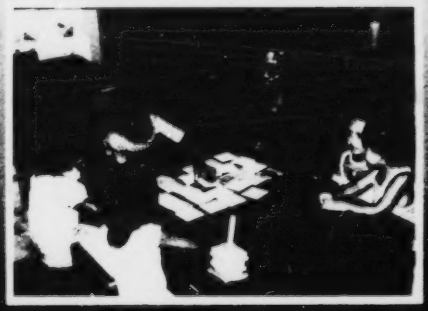
Community Participation in Delivering Urban Services in Asia





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Community Participation in Delivering Urban Services in Asia

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Abstract

Since 1945, the pursuit of accelerated economic growth by the market economies of Asia has led to rapid urban growth, a pattern that seems likely to continue. This rapid urban growth has made it difficult for city governments to deliver adequate urban services, in terms of both physical services, such as providing water, garbage collection and disposal, fire protection, and human-waste disposal, and social services, such as health care, child care, recreation, and education. The problem is particularly acute in low-income communities. Given that government efforts to meet the need for increased urban services have not been totally effective, many urban communities in Asia have experimented with self-help and participatory mechanisms designed to improve the quality of urban life. This volume presents the highlights of a five-country study, involving Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, and the Philippines, that attempted to provide information on the development and operation of a range of basic urban services based on the principle of self-help.

Résumé

Les économies de marché de l'Asie ont connu, depuis 1945, une croissance économique accélérée, amenant ainsi le développement rapide des villes. Or le scénario semble devoir se poursuivre. Ce développement urbain rapide n'a pas permis aux gouvernements municipaux de desservir adéquatement leurs populations, qu'il s'agisse, d'une part, des services techniques tels que l'approvisionnement en eau, l'enlèvement et l'élimination des ordures ménagères, l'élimination des déchets humains et la protection contre les incendies ou, d'autre part, des services sociaux tels que l'hygiène, les soins aux enfants, les loisirs et l'éducation. Le problème est plus aigu dans les collectivités à faible revenu. Puisque les efforts des gouvernements pour répondre à la demande de services municipaux élargis n'ont pas connu un grand succès, nombre de collectivités urbaines d'Asie ont eu recours à l'initiative personnelle et à la participation des citoyens afin d'améliorer la qualité de leur milieu de vie. Cet ouvrage expose les points saillants d'une étude menée à Hong Kong, en Indonésie, en Corée, en Malaisie et aux Philippines, sur la conception et l'exploitation d'une série de services municipaux de base qui font appel à l'initiative personnelle.

Resumen

Desde 1945, la busqueda de un crecimiento económico acelerado por las economías de mercado de Asia ha llevado a una rápida expansión urbana, rasgo que parece probable de continuar. Este rápido crecimiento ha hecho difícil para los gobiernos de las ciudades la prestación de servicios urbanos adecuados, tanto en términos de servicios físicos, como provisión de agua, recolección y eliminación de basuras, protección contra los incendios y eliminación de excretas, como servicios sociales, por ejemplo atención de salud, cuidado infantil, recreación y educación. Puesto que los esfuerzos oficiales para hacer frente a estas necesidades de servicios urbanos más amplios no han sido totalmente efectivos, muchas comunidades urbanas asiáticas han experimentado con mecanismos participatorios y de autoayuda diseñados para mejorar la calidad de la vida humana. Este volúmen presenta los puntos sobresalientes de un estudio de cinco países, Corea, Filipinas, Hong Kong, Indonesia y Malasia, que tuvo por objeto ofrecer información sobre el desarrollo y la aparición de una serie de servicios urbanos básicos fundamentados en el principio de la autoayuda.

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Foreword

During the postwar period, rapid urbanization has occurred in many developing countries. In Asia, as elsewhere in the Third World, the astounding growth of large cities has been particularly noteworthy. Urban administrators are faced with a pressing need to provide jobs, shelter, and other basic needs for as large a proportion of the population as possible. The reality of the situation, however, is that not enough jobs have been created, services are too expensive for the authorities to provide, and the urban environment in general is deteriorating.

From Seoul to Jakarta, from Bangkok to Delhi, the problem of insufficient urban services has confronted many municipal authorities. Despite ambitious master plans and laudable intentions, fiscal and managerial limitations have often prevented cities from improving significantly the present predicament. The problem is especially acute in low-income communities, where insecure tenure combined with maldistribution of resources has not favoured implementation of such plans even if limited financial provisions are made. Given these trends, many urban communities in Asia have recently experimented with a range of self-help and participatory mechanisms designed to improve the quality of life. These are people's efforts, with a minimum of government support.

Between 1981 and 1984, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) supported a five-country study of innovative schemes designed to deliver needed urban services to the economically disadvantaged. The participating countries were Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. As in many of the network projects supported by IDRC, the researchers have learned together and successfully compared experiences.

This volume grew out of the results of the country studies, which have been completed. Only highlights of the country studies are presented here, and the reader is referred to more complete country findings, available either in mimeographed or published form. This monograph is cast in a comparative framework so that the wider implications of the country studies can be more readily understood.

The project upon which this volume is based represented a new phase of urban research support by IDRC. To build upon previous urban involvement, this project marked the beginning of more active support for projects in urban services in the Third World over the past several years. Together with the growing literature on urban services in developing countries, it is hoped that this volume will contribute to the understanding and hence solution of the problems besetting the urban poor.

Social Sciences Division
International Development Research Centre

Preface

Amidst the hustle and bustle of Hong Kong, the editors of this volume met in 1972 and 1980 for similar reasons. On the first occasion, we met with researchers from three countries in Southeast Asia to lay the groundwork for a comparative research project on hawkers and vendors. The second meeting brought together scholars from five countries in East and Southeast Asia who had expressed an interest in embarking upon studies of participatory urban services in their respective countries, as well as an eagerness to learn from other countries. The group met at the Kowloon office of the Extra-Mural Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Soon after the meeting in Hong Kong, the Board of Governors of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) approved the project in early 1981, thus enabling the five countries to carry forward their projects and meet periodically. Subsequently, the group met in Manila, Penang, and Seoul. The first two meetings were workshop sessions in which details of methodology and fieldwork were compared and discussed. The meeting in Seoul, held in March 1984, also involved policymakers from each of the countries, whose views and reactions were sought with respect to the major findings. At all of these meetings, field visits were organized to assist participants from other countries in understanding, from first-hand observations, how the urban poor lived in these cities and how the people helped to improve their living environment through their own efforts.

From the outset, we recognized that, owing to the very different societal contexts in which participatory urban services were organized, it would be unrealistic to conceive of a strictly comparable project. We therefore agreed on the broadest of guidelines within which each team would study the policy issues most relevant to their country. Consequently, when this monograph was prepared, we agreed on a framework in which every country would provide the main findings of the study, leaving the first and last chapters to draw together the salient issues cutting across the countries.

Support for this project was provided at a time when there was a greater awareness and concern among Asian countries and within international development circles for the plight of the urban poor. This project was envisaged to provide the much needed information and analysis of some of the promising approaches of people in various countries to improve their own life-styles and immediate living environment.

The decision to limit the project to five countries in the Eastern Asia region was made for reasons of manageability and comparability. It should be noted that in other parts of Asia, notably South Asia, various forms of self-help and community participation have been successfully practiced for decades to reach many developmental ends.

The successful completion of this project is a result of the kind support and assistance of many individuals and institutions. First and foremost has been the generous support extended to us by all the project participants. The principal researchers were: Dr Soo-Young Park, Research Institute for Human Settlements, Seoul; Mrs Exaltacion Ramos, Integrated Research Centre, De La Salle University, Manila; Professor Kamal Salih, Universiti Sains Malaysia; Amir Karamoy, Lembaga Penelitian, Pendikikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (LP3ES, Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information), Jakarta; and Dr Huan Hsin-chi, Centre for Hong Kong Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong. The seriousness with which they completed the country studies, and the openness and candor that characterized their analysis accounted for the high quality of the results. With the exception of Indonesia, every country had the opportunity to host a project meeting. At all of these meetings, the host institutions were extremely supportive with their time and resources to ensure the success of the meetings and well-being of the participants. Thanks are due to the concerned country coordinators, their colleagues, and institutions. In the organization of these regional meetings, IDRC's regional office in Singapore provided excellent field support, and the IDRC Ottawa-based library was very helpful in tracing bibliographic entries. Our greatest appreciation goes to the respondents in all of the country studies, without whose willing cooperation the studies could not have been completed. To all these countless and anonymous individuals, we pledge our hope that these studies will ultimately result in policy change and improvement and, by extension, tangible benefits to their lives.

Y.M. Yeung and T.G. McGee

Participatory Urban Services in Asia

T.G. McGee and Y.M. Yeung

Since 1945, the pursuit of accelerated economic growth by the market economies of Asia has led to rapid urban growth generally well in excess of total population growth rates (Table 1), a pattern that seems likely to continue with a doubling of the urban population between 1980 and the year 2000. Rapid urban growth has posed many problems, particularly in terms of the ability of city governments to deliver adequate urban services. The problem is particularly acute in low-income communities.

At the global level, the problem of deteriorating basic services for cities in Third World countries was a major theme of the United Nations Habitat Conference held in Vancouver, Canada, in 1976. Worldwide attention was drawn to the plight of the urban poor in developing countries with respect to the provision of basic services. The work and assistance related to current concepts of basic needs and basic services by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), respectively, can be regarded as parallel efforts geared toward improving access to and provision of urban services.

In almost every developing country in Asia, the gap between the demand and supply of urban services, with respect to low-income communities, continues to widen. Urban services refer to "physical" services, such as provision of water, garbage collection and disposal, fire protection, and human-waste disposal, as well as "social" services, such as health care, child care, recreation, and education. Gradual realization of the ineffectiveness of a "service-delivery" model (i.e., government-provided services) has prompted experimental and innovative efforts to mobilize people's resources toward improving the urban environment.

In a broader development context, this problem of state-provided services is a consequence of the nature of modern urban development, which has required the adoption of the expensive technology of collective consumption — travel systems, hospitals, schools, etc. — which means less for the poor. Thus, welfare that involves capital goods develops quickly and individual welfare is left to the individual, family, and community.

There is a need to develop an understanding of utilizing community resources to deliver basic physical and social services. Pioneering attempts to achieve this goal, which may require new organization and mobilization, can be termed participatory, self-help, cooperative, self-sustaining, and community-based, insofar as they are all characterized by people's participation and organization. It is also intended that there be a minimum of government involvement. The mainspring of the idea may stem from the government, the private sector, or the community but the distinguishing feature is that public transfers will be reduced to enable public capital to be utilized for other purposes.

Table 1. Selected data on Asian market economies.

	Population (mid-1982) (million)	Average annual growth rate (%) of population		Urban population as a percentage of total population		Average annual growth rate (%) of urban population		Percentage of labour force in					
								Agriculture		Industry		Services	
		1960–1970	1970–1982	1960	1982	1960–1970	1970–1982	1960	1980	1960	1980	1960	1980
Hong Kong	5.2	2.5	2.4	89	91	3.1	2.4	8	3	52	57	40	40
Singapore	2.5	2.4	1.5	100	100	2.4	1.5	8	3	23	39	69	59
Taiwan	18.4	2.7	1.9	36	68	3.7	3.2	56	20	11	33	33	47
Korean Rep.	39.3	2.4	1.7	28	61	6.2	5.0	66	34	9	29	25	37
Malaysia	14.5	2.9	2.5	25	30	3.5	3.4	63	50	12	16	25	34
Philippines	50.7	3.0	2.7	25	38	4.2	3.8	61	46	15	17	24	37
Thailand	48.5	3.1	2.4	12	17	4.7	4.3	84	76	4	9	12	15
Sri Lanka	15.2	2.4	1.7	18	24	4.4	2.5	56	54	13	14	31	32
Bangladesh	92.9	2.9	2.6	5	12	4.7	6.0	87	74	3	11	10	15
Burma	34.9	2.2	2.2	19	28	3.7	3.9	68	67	11	10	21	23
India	717.0	2.3	2.3	18	24	3.5	3.9	73	71	11	13	16	16
Indonesia	152.6	2.2	2.3	15	22	3.7	4.5	75	58	8	12	17	30
Pakistan	87.1	2.4	3.0	18	29	4.5	4.3	61	57	18	20	21	23

Sources: World Bank (1979, 1984).

Of course, there are those who would argue that programs designed to reduce public transfers to low-income communities are "antisocial" in the sense that governments have a social responsibility to provide for the poor, but it must be remembered that in capital-short societies participatory service schemes may be one way in which scarce capital is preserved for other purposes. It would appear, therefore, that the ideological question is much more related to the definition of participatory services and the question of for whose benefit participatory services are being encouraged.

From a governmental point of view, participatory services may be of benefit in the following ways. First, increased participation on the part of the people can reduce the overall cost of social transfers. It is thus a form of cutting costs within social programs that allows government more flexibility with respect to development options. Second, people-based programs can provide government with a great deal of information on the social and economic needs of the population. Instead of initiating costly data-gathering programs, channels are created through which information can funnel upward. Third, participatory service organizations may help governments identify potential leaders who can assist in the development process, or at least disseminate information on government goals.

From the point of view of low-income communities, participatory urban services may provide physical and welfare needs that otherwise would not be available and they promote a sense of neighbourliness within the community that is often weakly developed in urban areas. In addition, participation in urban service delivery may offer the possibility of employment for residents of low-income communities. Even very small income subsidization by the government can create many income opportunities for low-income urban communities.

As many writers have pointed out, there is a delicate relationship between state and community organizations. On one hand, the state is anxious to reduce its costs by promoting self-help schemes, which often involve increased "advocacy" by community groups. On the other hand, governments are generally unwilling to allow this "advocacy" to reach to a point where it challenges their decision-making power. Thus, "participation" is often defined in government terms rather than community terms. The definition of participatory services, therefore, would differ from one country to another.

Historically, the provision of services at the community level is generally assumed to have passed through a phase in which self-help (household) and forms of participatory services (e.g., harvesting) were carried out at the community (e.g., village) level. Certainly, within many parts of rural Asia, self-help and cooperative traditions are well established and have been relied upon to ensure that a wide range of functions is performed within village communities (Bar 1977; Ahmad and Hossain 1978; Ratnapala 1978). With increasing urbanization, economic growth, and more and more people entering the wage labour force, however, the time that can be devoted to participatory services has decreased. Consequently, the state and the private corporate sector at various levels (national, regional, and city) have come to play an increasing role in service delivery (Table 2).

Of course, this historical model of the shift in service provision is oversimplified for the manner in which these services can be delivered is greatly affected by technological change and the pace of economic development. One only needs to think of the role that improved communications (telephone, radio, and television)

Table 2. Selected urban services delivery systems and types of service.

Delivery system	Type of service		
	Physical	Social	Community
Total self-help	Water	Health care	Fire control
Participatory services	Sewage	Child care	Police security
Government/privately provided services	Power	Recreation	
	Garbage	Education	

has played in the delivery of medical services to see how important changes in technology are. It is also clear, however, that technological changes must be accompanied by changes in the institutional environment if they are to be successful. The history of development is littered with problems associated with the mismatch between technological change and institutional adaptation. It is our view that increased participation of local communities, both in rural and urban settings, in these processes helps in the development of institutional adaptation. However, it is often necessary for the state to encourage and provide these services.

Indeed, so ubiquitous has been the state's role in service delivery that much of the literature and research on this subject in developed countries has focused upon the theme of returning control, or at least some form of control, of the delivery of basic services to the community level. In the context of developed countries, in general, this is seen as being most easily accomplished through increasing community access to and control of the political process (Savitch and Adler 1974; Ostrom 1976; Harlan 1977; Bish 1979).

Although there are many different approaches to the research in general, a major theme of studies being conducted in developed countries centres around the conflict between government and diverse urban communities. Many of the studies focus upon the manner in which communities mobilize themselves to resist the imposition of government policy from "above." This is particularly true when government decisions involve physical restructuring of a community, e.g., as in the case of freeways or urban renewals. It can also occur when government policy is going to affect the quality of service delivery. As a result, much of the conceptual thrust over the past two decades has been devoted to developing models that involve greater community input in and protection against the process of government and private development in cities.

In the context of developing countries, the situation is very different from that of developed countries. First, the role of the state is much more powerful and the possibility of communities encouraging political parties, or indeed forming political parties, to take up their cause is limited. Second, cities are growing at fast rates (often double the rate of increase of the total population) and there is thus continuous pressure on government to provide more urban services rapidly. Third, many of the cities of the Third World are characterized by large low-income populations, many of whom live close to the poverty line. For these groups, access to urban services is often limited, both financially and ecologically, and as a consequence the government is constantly being pressured to provide basic services for these groups. A final consideration that affects many Third World countries is the amount of government funds available for transfers to provide these services. Generally, governments have been forced to make hard and sometimes unpalatable decisions in establishing priorities within the nation at large. At least one group of writers felt that the provision of basic needs within cities (e.g., shelter) by government encour-

Table 3. Participatory strategies for urban services.

Situation	Facilitation	Strategy
Low level of services Low level of government resources Highly unequal distribution of income	Small governmental inputs Extensive nongovernmental inputs Private sector activity (informal sector)	Mobilization of nongovernmental resources Decentralized service delivery
Medium level of services Medium level of governmental resources Medium inequality, often associated with spatial pockets of poor service delivery	Medium governmental inputs More governmental research on identification of service needs	Complementing of nongovernmental resources More centralized service delivery
High level of services High level of government resources Limited income inequality	Larger governmental inputs Larger community input	Increased governmental delivery but often associated with increased activity on the part of the community in advocating their needs

ages rapid rural–urban migration, which only exacerbates problems related to city growth. Policies that emphasize public investment in the rural sector have often been advocated as an alternative but there is very little evidence to suggest that rural development retards urbanization (Lipton 1977).

These different circumstances are presented in Table 3, based on ideas developed by Kamal Salih, Malaysia, one of the project participants. Table 3 attempts to incorporate the elements discussed in the preceding paragraphs not within a temporal sequence but rather by using a resources and strategy paradigm.

As a consequence of these macroprocesses, governments in the Third World are often tempted to leave some portion of social services, in particular, to private agencies to administer, and foreign aid often plays a major role in some aspects of social-service provision. On the other hand, government is also anxious to increase the low-income community's participation in the delivery of services for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is to prevent a drain upon government capital.

Provision of Urban Services: A Holistic Approach

It is important in the analysis of urban services to understand the interaction and interrelationships among urban services because many efficiencies can be brought about. It is important to realize how even broader approaches to studying urbanization in developing countries aid this proposition. The study of contemporary urbanization in the 1970s has been characterized by four new approaches that have greatly enhanced our understanding of the urbanization process.

First is the emergence of the "world political economy" approach (Frank 1967; Amin 1974; Wallerstein 1974; Walton 1976a,b; Cohen 1981; Portes and Walton 1981; Friedmann and Wolff 1982; Gilbert and Gugler 1982; Soja et al. 1983), which raises questions about the manner in which urban systems and urban centres in Third World countries are a reflection of the role that the national states play in the international economic system. Although some of the proponents of this perspective have shared an ideological distaste for capitalism, a sharp difference of

opinion has emerged between such writers as the late Bill Warren and Frank and Amin. Frank and Amin focus upon the role of Third World cities as institutional structures that permit the accumulation of capital in Third World countries and its siphoning off to the metropolitan centres of developed countries. According to this perception, Third World cities play a crucial role in the underdevelopment of the Third World. On the other hand, it is argued that global integration of Third World countries has created conditions for rapid independent capitalist development and has set in motion a definite process of industrialization that focuses on major urban centres. This debate indicates how developments in the international economic system have ramifications on the urban systems of Third World countries, and suggests that such consequences should be taken into account in research proposals. At the city level of service provision, it is important to understand financial limitations and policy options in relation to higher level development processes.

A second major contribution to understanding the urbanization process in Southeast Asia has been made by demographers, geographers, and anthropologists, who are looking critically at the process of population movement between rural and urban areas. Research by Hugo (1975), Goldstein (1978), and Pryor (1979), utilizing censuses and survey data, has provided a much more sophisticated picture of the process of population mobility to and from urban centres. This research has drawn much-needed attention to the persistence of circular migration. It has also provided a careful analysis of urban residence, revealing the weakness of distinctions between rural and urban residence. These important contributions should enable a much more sophisticated analysis of 1980/1981 census data to be carried out than would otherwise have been possible, which will be of great assistance to policymakers concerned with rates of urban growth, characteristics of rural–urban migration and, consequently, service provision in cities.

A third development, which has emerged from a broad body of development theory but has important implications for policy aimed at smaller urban centres, has been growing concern about the persistent poverty of sizable proportions of Third World populations (most of them located in rural areas) and the need for some program of income redistribution that can deliver basic needs to these deprived populations. Although there has been much debate on the best manner in which to implement such a program and its effects upon economic growth (Singh 1979), it is widely accepted that an efficient urban system plays a critical role in delivering basic needs. At least one writer (Lipton 1977) has argued that most national policies in developing countries are biased in favour of larger urban areas despite rhetoric emphasizing the role of smaller urban centres and rural development. Other writers, notably Lo and Salih (1978), have grappled with this problem of urban bias by advocating policies that would combine certain elements of selective regional closure with rural development. These policies would enable small towns to provide more services and, hopefully, employment, which would, in turn, reinforce service provision. The major contributions of these policies are their emphasis on integrated development and a clear understanding of the function of the urban system in a nation's economy.

The final theoretical development relates to the concept of an informal sector (McGee 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976; McGee and Yeung 1977). The concept of an informal sector has emerged from dualistic models of the structure of Third World economies put forward by such writers as Boeke (1953) and Lewis (1954). The specific circumstance that gave rise to a growing interest in the informal sector was the concern over the inability of many Third World countries to generate sufficient

wage-earning opportunities during the 1960s and a realization that many people were employed in what were essentially family or small-scale activities. These activities involved production (agriculture and manufacturing), distribution (e.g., vending), and construction (squatter housing). Conventional economic attitudes toward these activities had been unfavourable. It was argued that the low incomes and low productivity of the informal sector were a burden upon society as a whole, but the International Labour Office (1972) and Hart (1973) have questioned this pejorative view. Increased concern over income distribution and meeting basic needs has buttressed arguments that policymakers should adopt policies that would encourage entrepreneurial activity and capital accumulation in the informal sector. Supporters of policies favourable to the informal sector are attempting to persuade policymakers that the persistence of the informal sector is a consequence of a rapidly growing labour force and the wage sector's inability to create sufficient jobs. Some writers (Roberts 1978; Squire 1979) have argued that many Third World countries have been more successful at creating jobs in the wage sector than had been thought possible. For instance, Squire calculated that between 1960 and 1970 industrial employment in developing countries grew at twice the rate experienced by developed countries between 1900 and 1920. However, rapid growth of the population and labour force has retarded the transformation of the industrial structure of the developing countries (Squire 1979). Policy options relating to informal sector versus formal sector employment creation and service provision, both of which require capital investment, are of special interest in this discussion.

At the policy level, the implications of these new approaches have resulted in a much more careful evaluation being made of the existing conditions before policies are developed. Particularly significant is the emphasis upon process and interrelationship among different sectoral policies. Linn (1979), for instance, has shown that the links between health, nutrition, and family planning are very close, making them a cluster of urban service provision that is best treated as a single sector.

One may put forward similar arguments for a cluster of services including water, sewerage, and the quality of housing. These clusters are also often set within a much larger social service, e.g., provision of universal education — the majority of Third World countries have made substantial commitments to achieving this goal. However, there are still many problems regarding access to and participation by the urban poor.

In addition to the question of the capital needs for these urban services, there is also the question of the "institutional framework" that is being developed for the delivery of these services and, in particular, the role of individuals who work in these institutions. More often than not, institutions found in developing countries have developed from administrative and social structures fashioned during the colonial period and they have found themselves unable to respond effectively to service demands stemming from the rising expectations of the population since independence. In the absence of institutional reforms, alternative mechanisms for service delivery are urgently needed.

One of the more encouraging trends in urban service provision in developing countries has been experimentation with self-help mechanisms of different types. In the short run, self-help services have met some of the basic needs of low-income populations. Nevertheless, the longer term viability and strength of this approach will have to depend on the acceptance and popularity of innovative methods by residents and policy options that government planners and administrators follow.

In at least four Asian countries (Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, and the Philippines) and one territory (Kong Kong), each marked by different economic, social, and cultural conditions, experimental approaches to delivering basic urban services have been carried out over the past few years. This report is the result of a joint project that attempted to share these experiences and evaluate the successes and failures of the various programs.

In Hong Kong, intermediate organizations, which have traditionally acted as mediators between the government and the public, have evolved new functions and structures founded on modern principles so that urban needs can be better met and urban services more efficiently delivered. Membership in these new organizations is based on a real need for certain urban services rather than on former ascriptive ties, e.g., clans or districts of origin in China. They have grown in response to factors such as increasing urban density, diminution of social welfare funds from nongovernmental sources, and decentralization of population. Activist residents' associations and mutual-aid committees are examples of such new organizations within the rapidly changing urban ecology of Hong Kong.

Despite considerable physical improvement in some urban communities in several large Indonesian cities through internationally assisted programs of sites-and-services and *kampung* improvement, it has been observed that the emphasis has been on infrastructural improvement at the expense of social services. However, community-based efforts, both formally and informally organized, have tended to close part of the gap in social services. These include improvements in education, recreation, health, and other related needs. Considering the time-honoured spirit of *gotong-royong* (self-help), it is believed that a more significant role of community-based urban services can be promoted.

The *Saemaul Undong* (New Community Movement), erected on the principle of self-reliance and applied since the early 1970s with immense success in rural Korea, has, since 1975, been extended to cities within Korea. The rationale behind extending this movement to urban areas is based upon the fact that many municipal governments have been unable to respond adequately to demands for urban services. Neighbourhood self-help organizations arising from the urban *Saemaul* movement have taken over many functions, such as road construction, installation of sewerage lines, and extending piped water to large cities. In small towns, a town regeneration program, which includes rehabilitation and reconstruction of houses and shops, has been in progress.

Malaysia has, under the New Economic Policy, been pursuing an intensive industrialization program. A free trade zone has been established in Bayan Lepas, Penang. The new industrial labour force in a new urban environment has experienced specific service problems and needs. An important 3-year program designed to cater to the recreational and educational needs of the 30000 young workers in the area (Young Workers Community Education Project (YWCEP)) was initiated in 1975 under the auspices of the Federation of Family Planning Associations, Malaysia. It provided a wide range of community-based activities for the predominantly female workers in the rural areas. The pilot project confirmed the need for a continued and more comprehensive community development project.

Finally, in the Philippines the demonstrable inability of large city governments to provide most urban services has led to a search for systems other than the "service-delivery" model. Recent efforts have sought approaches that can best be described as cooperative management, with greater dependence on resources from

the popular sector (community). A recent study conducted in the community of Leveriza, Manila, has provided some promising leads in this approach of people-based urban services.

Country and City Settings of the Project

Since 1980, five teams from the Asian region have been participating in a multicountry study intended to provide important policy-relevant information on the development and operation of a range of basic urban services based on the principle of self-help. The choice of the five countries was guided by the mix of social–cultural conditions under which different types of participatory mechanisms have evolved.

As indicated in Table 4, there are sharp differences among the five countries. In this list, Hong Kong is something of an anomaly. It is a colonial city, yet it is one of the major financial and industrial centres of the world. Established in 1841 as a British enclave on the coast of China, it remained a sleepy entrepôt until after the Japanese defeat in 1945. Since that date, its population has grown from some 600000 in 1945 to an estimated 5 million in 1980. Much of this early population growth was a result of the movement of refugees from China, which contributed significantly to the total of almost 2.5 million in 1950. Since that date, the natural increase has been a major contributor to the population increase and has created one of the most crowded urban environments in the world, with the majority of the population being concentrated within the 25 km^2 that make up the urban centres of Hong Kong and Kowloon. The population is living predominantly in high-rise public or private housing at very high household-density levels.

A second facet of the remarkable transition that Hong Kong has experienced is the creation of a major manufacturing base. Beginning with a considerable inflow of labour, capital, and entrepreneurial skills in the late 1940s, Hong Kong has become one of the Third World's foremost export producers of clothing and textiles, although in recent years the plastic products and electronics industries have become more significant. Most exports are directed to five developed countries, which in 1977 took almost two-thirds of the products. This development has been associated with a dramatic increase in direct foreign investment in manufacturing.

A third facet of this rapid growth was Hong Kong's position as a financial centre. By 1977, over 100 foreign banks were operating in the colony, as well as a large number of international insurance companies, making Hong Kong the world's third largest financial centre. The phenomenal growth of "loans and advances abroad" given by Hong Kong based banks, which rose from HKD 204 million to HKD 20778 million (see Appendix for currency conversion rates) between 1969 and 1979, is a measure of the city's international expansion.

A final aspect is the international role of Hong Kong as a major tourist centre. Between 1958 and 1977, the number of tourist arrivals increased from 103006 to 1755669. This represented some 4810 tourists a day spending approximately HKD 2073 during each visit in 1977, and generating some 100000 jobs as well as contributing some 5% per annum to the gross domestic product.

The impact on the changing structure of the Hong Kong economy has been considerable, with an increase in the importance of the service sector, although manufacturing remains by far the biggest employer (45% of the work force in

Table 4. Key indicators of the five countries studied.

	Total population (mid-1981) (million)	GDP per capita (USD)		Urban population as a percentage of total population		Percentage distribution of GDP					
						Agriculture		Manufacturing[a]		Service	
		1972	1980	1960	1980	1972	1980	1972	1980	1972	1980
Hong Kong	5.1	1102	4072	89	100	1.6	1.0	27.0	27.6	71.4	71.4
Korea	38.7	303	1426	28	55	30.2	17.2	19.9	31.3	49.9	51.5
Malaysia	13.8	444	1644	25	49	29.1	23.6	20.8	24.0	50.1	52.4
Philippines	49.5	212	732	25	37	28.6	25.5	26.3	28.0	45.1	46.5
Indonesia	151.0	91	473	15	20	40.8	31.4	18.4	23.8	41.6	44.8

Sources: Asian Development Bank (1982); World Bank (1982).

[a] Includes mining/quarrying.

1976). There has been a rapid increase in per capita income to USD 2590 in 1977, with Hong Kong now ranking third in Asia after Japan and Singapore.

Hong Kong thus represents an example of rapid modernization within a densely packed urban environment. This has been accomplished within a political framework that has only limited political participation by most citizens. Because of the economic success of Hong Kong and the limited demand of nonurban areas, the Hong Kong government has been able to make considerable investment in improving the urban environment and providing urban services.

The Republic of Korea is another example of rapid economic growth and modernization. Between 1963 and 1976, Korea grew to become one of the world's most successful developing economies. The reasons for this growth are numerous, including existing historical structures that facilitated economic development.

Just as significant was the developmental approach adopted by the government of Chung Hee Park, which assumed control after a military coup in 1961 and remained in power until his assassination in 1979. Park introduced a series of economic reforms in the early 1960s that had two objectives: first, to direct Korea toward increased export-led industrialization, and second, to increase both private and public savings. These aims were accomplished by creating an institutional and trade environment that allowed unrestricted access to imported inputs, as well as exemptions from tariffs and indirect taxes, and adjusting the official exchange rate upward to reflect more realistically the value of the national currency. Bank interest rates were also increased to increase private savings. Finally, foreign aid and international investment were encouraged to help fund the infrastructure and industries being constructed, particularly during the late 1950s when these sources made up 80% of investment.

The results of these policy initiatives were dramatic. Part of the growth was due to the government export promotion program in which the government relied on market incentive policies to ensure that firms made adequate profits, but the private sector has still had to take risks in pursuing these incentives.

The results of this liaison between government and the private sector have greatly affected the patterns of urbanization and class formation in Korea. Between 1960 and 1970, industrial employment more than tripled and accounted for 44% of new jobs during this period and a larg proportion in the 1980s. The contribution of manufacturing to the gross national product (GNP) rose from 13 to 22% in 1971 and to 28% by 1980. Urbanization levels also increased from 28% in 1960 to 51% in 1975, which meant that Korea was as urbanized as the average developed country shortly after World War II. Much of this increase was concentrated in the rapidly growing metropolis of Greater Seoul, whose population increased from 2.4 million in 1960 to 5.5 million in 1970, absorbing 42% of the total urban increase. By 1980, the population of Seoul had increased to 8.4 million. Since 1970, the fastest growing areas have been in the southeast, particularly around Ulsan and Pusan, where much heavy industry has been established. This trend seems likely to continue. As indicated in Table 4, the rapid increase in the urban population has resulted in Korea becoming 50% urbanized in a very short period of time, causing many problems related to urban overcrowding and urban service provision, particularly for the lower income communities.

In Malaysia, there has also been rapid economic growth, although the level of urbanization presented in Table 4 is probably an overestimate. Malaysia has also

experienced an industrial revolution of sorts but as yet it has not been of the size of Korea's. Growth of the manufacturing sector has been largely concentrated in the major urban areas of Kuala Lumpur, Penang, and Johore, which have experienced rapid increases in urban populations, particularly the Kuala Lumpur metropolitan area, which grew from 350000 in 1960 to over 1 million in 1980.

Recent information shows that manufacturing has been one of the fastest growing sectors in Peninsular Malaysia's economy. On the basis of data from the 1976 labour survey, employment in the manufacturing sector grew by more than 320% between 1957 and 1976. Most significant has been the increase in the female labour force, which in the manufacturing sector grew from 17% in 1957 to 41% in 1976.

In the context of Malaysia's political economy, this is a revolution of major consequence, for it involves introducing a growing number of previously rural dwellers into urban factories. The growing number of Malay female workers is also of major importance. The most significant increase in the racial mix of this labour force has been the growth of the number of Malay female workers, which in the manufacturing sector has increased from 9000 in 1957 to some 110000 in 1976. This means that there are almost as many Malay female workers as Chinese, who are much more urbanized.

This process is particularly well illustrated in Penang State. Prior to 1969, Penang's economic survival rested largely upon its free-port status and a variety of small processing activities involving rubber and tin. With the loss of its free-port status in 1969, the State Government developed a bold policy of encouraging industrial activity within the state, which led to the establishment of serviced industrial estates offering various kinds of tax incentives and tariff protection for both import-substitution industries and exported manufactured goods. This policy has been remarkably successful.

The manufacturing sector's share of GDP increased from 21.0% in 1971 to 37.2% in 1980. This industrial growth fueled a considerable increase in per capita GDP, which rose from MYR 1035 in 1971 to MYR 2357 in 1980. In addition, employment in the state's manufacturing sector grew from 16% in 1970 to 29.0% in 1980. Much of the organizational impetus for this growth was provided by the Penang Development Corporation (established in July 1970), the principal development agency of the State Government.

Growth of the manufacturing sector took place mainly in two types of industrial estates. In 1982, the first type of industrial estate, which was not a free trade zone (FTZ), employed 16346 (30%) workers, of which only 6982 (42%) were females. The major types of industries located in these areas include food processing, chemical fertilizer, metal product, and rubber-based industries. Malays make up some 41% of the labour force employed in these industries.

The second type of industrial estate is the FTZ, of which there are four in Penang State, located at Prai, Prai Wharf, Bayan Lepas, and Pulau Jerejak. In 1982, Bayan Lepas was by far the largest of these zones, with 38 of the 50 factories and employing 30215 of 38434 workers. A much higher proportion of female workers (70%) is employed in FTZs, as well as a higher percentage of Malays (46%). The two main types of goods produced in these zones are electronics and textiles.

A high proportion of the factories located in these zones is foreign owned. Frequently, they are part of international companies that produce electronic cir-

cuitry (silicon circuits) in Japan and United States and send partly processed components to Penang for assembly and testing before being utilized in computers, video games, and other forms of electronic gadgetry.

The remarkable growth of the manufacturing sector has led to an influx of rural migrants, placing great pressure on urban housing and social services in areas adjacent to the new industrial estates. In addition, the older parts of town — away from the industrial estates — have experienced population increases and a need for more services.

In the Philippines, economic growth has been much slower, as indicated by lower per capita incomes, despite considerable effort on the part of the government to industrialize the economy and increase rural productivity. One important reason for this is the high rate of population increase (2.7%) during the 1970s, which added 11414000 people to the population and seriously affected programs aimed at economic development.

This rapid rate of population increase has also been associated with rapid urbanization, the urban population having increased from 32.9% in 1970 to 37.5% in 1980. A large part of this increase is a result of natural increases (55% in Metro Manila). This urban growth is not spread evenly throughout all urban centres, rather it is concentrated in the Metropolitan Manila area, which housed 32.9% of the national urban population in 1980. The dominance of Metro Manila is illustrated by the fact that almost two-thirds of the country's manufacturing establishments and a major proportion of the educational and governmental institutions are located in this area. The population of Metro Manila is almost four times greater than the combined total of the next four largest cities, namely Cebu, Davao, Zamboanga, and Bacolod.

The consequences of rapid urbanization, particularly in Metro Manila and the surrounding regions of southern Luzon, have placed great strains upon the provision of urban services, resulting in inadequate transport, continuing widespread poverty, and the growth of squatter communities. At the institutional level, the Philippines has been very innovative in the face of these problems, creating a Metro Manila Commission in 1975 that integrated the various cities and municipalities of the Manila region into a unified metropolitan government. In 1978, a Ministry of Human Settlements was created to coordinate activities in three main areas: environmental management, land use and town planning, and shelter system development.

Despite these excellent institutional advances, the Philippines is still faced with continuing economic problems (exacerbated in the last 2 years) that are particularly grave with respect to labour absorption in urban areas. As a consequence, the informal sector is highly developed in the majority of cities and low-income communities are forced into many forms of self-help and participatory services. The Philippines, therefore, lies somewhere between Indonesia and Malaysia, on one hand, and Korea and Hong Kong, on the other, in terms of its socioeconomic setting as it affects urban service delivery.

Indonesia, the fifth country studied, presents the most intractable problems. It has a very large population (150 million in 1980) that is unevenly distributed throughout the country, with over 60% on the island of Java, and is increasing at a rate greater than 2% per annum. Much of this population is still engaged in agriculture (60% in 1977), with a high proportion being involved in various forms of rice agriculture on the island of Java. As indicated in Table 4, Indonesia is by far

the poorest of the five countries selected for the project. There are considerable differences between incomes in urban and rural areas and between high- and low-income groups. Despite the overall prevalence of poverty, Indonesia has experienced a number of major socioeconomic changes over the last 20 years (not the least of which has been the sizable contribution of oil production to national revenue), which has enabled the government to hold off the growing demographic pressures. In addition, Indonesia experienced an accelerated rate of urbanization between 1960 and 1980 (3.6% per annum between 1961 and 1970 and 4% per annum between 1971 and 1981) of almost double the rate of increase of the total population. This has increased the level of urbanization in Indonesia to approximately 25%. Of even greater significance is the fact that this urban growth has been largely concentrated in larger cities — populations greater than 500000 — such as Greater Jakarta, Surabaya, Semerang, Bandung, Medan, Palembang, and Ujung Pandang. These are the urban areas where manufacturing, employment, and production have increased substantially during the last decade and they are important poles attracting migration. Thus, World Bank data suggest that 48% of net migration to urban areas between 1970 and 1981 was to the city of Jakarta.

A second development of no less importance has been the introduction of new high-yielding varieties of rice and new technologies of agricultural production, which have led to greatly increased yields in *sawah* agriculture. The hope that increases in agricultural productivity might encourage populations in rural areas to remain there has not been fulfilled. Thus agriculture, which accounted for 76% of rural employment in 1971, absorbed only 8.5% of the total increase in rural employment. The remainder was apparently absorbed into low-productivity services and industrial activities. The increase in rural nonfarm labour has also been characterized by increases in circular migration, facilitated by greatly improved methods of transportation in relatively cheap prices.

These developments suggest that if existing trends continue, Indonesia will experience increasing urbanization over the next 20 years. On the island of Java, such trends may lead to the creation of some extremely large urban areas where a sizable proportion of the population will be low-income dwellers in need of urban services.

Hong Kong, Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines thus exhibit a wide range of development experience, urbanization levels, and economic structures. From a comparative point of view, the most tempting way to approach the problem of urban service provision is to suggest that there may be some historical linkage between increasing economic growth, urbanization, and the level and type of urban service provision, i.e., the focus is on providing community and social services in more economically developed cities because physical services have already been well developed. It may also be that, in places such as Hong Kong and Korea, the increase in wage labour (and particularly female employment) creates a need for support services, such as day care and domestic help. In Indonesia and the Philippines, these social services can be handled much more easily at the household level.

Objectives of the Comparative Study

The overall objective of the study is to gain a better understanding of the development and provision of basic urban services through different mechanisms of

participation in a range of Asian cities at different levels of economic development and with varied sociocultural backgrounds. Specifically, each country study attempted to:

- identify and describe the existing range of urban services and their structural arrangements, emphasizing participatory mechanisms;
- analyze and compare the various mechanisms utilized in generating and delivering services through self-help and government-sponsored schemes;
- evaluate the effectiveness of varying forms of self-help service delivery;
- draw policy implications for planners and city administrators by comparing different service delivery systems in each of the cities; and
- train young Asian researchers through their participation in the project.

In detail, the country studies attempted to focus upon the following questions:

- What is the level of community participation in urban participatory services? Do urban residents participate more, or less, in government-sponsored participation schemes than those originating within the community (self-help in the model)?
- What are the procedures and prevailing institutional structures for delivering these services?
- Do existing programs meet the preferences and felt needs of low-income communities?
- How important are factors such as location, ethnicity, income, and education in determining the success of participatory service provision?
- What do communities feel about the "implementors" of participatory service programs? To what extent does the type of leadership affect the success of programs?
- Who generally takes the initiative in developing these programs?
- What features of a community's social organization help or hinder programs of participatory urban service delivery?
- What kinds of urban participation programs are most appropriate for different types of services, e.g., is greater government involvement more appropriate in physical services than in social services?

In view of the different societal conditions under which participatory urban services systems have emerged, the research design for each of the participating countries was geared to local circumstances. It also tended to focus upon different questions.

In Hong Kong, four communities were selected for investigation by virtue of their maximum variation in living conditions and modes of interaction between government, intermediate organizations, and the local people. The four study areas were Sai Ying Poon, an old traditional neighbourhood on Hong Kong Island; Tuen Mun, a growing new town in western New Territories; Tai Hang Tung, a residential area planned and built by the government to accommodate those too poor to afford "adequate" housing; and Kwun Tong, a large and established industrial community in eastern Kowloon.

In Indonesia, six *kampungs*, four in Jakarta and two in Ujung Pandang, were chosen that varied with respect to ethnic origin and homogeneity, distance from the city centre, access to transportation and employment, and past government policies. Where possible, the effect of internationally assisted programs in some of the *kampungs* was also assessed.

For the Korean study, three *dong*, or typical municipal administrative units, were identified. These include two *dong* in Seoul (Sanggye *dong* and Changshin *dong*) and one *dong* in Sungham (No. 4 *dong*), about 15 km from Seoul. A *dong* varies in area from 2 to 4 km^2 and in population from 15000 to 30000. These *dong* were chosen for their ongoing activities under the urban *Saemaul Undong*.

The research design of the Philippine study was the most comprehensive and ambitious involving nine low-income communities in three cities of varying sizes. Three study areas, each defined by spatial and ecological factors, were selected in Metro Manila, Cebu, and Davao, located in three different regions of the Philippines. The low-income communities selected in each city were identified in areas near the city centre as well as other parts of the city.

The Malaysian study in Penang was at Bayan Lepas, where the corporate sector, with employment in export-oriented industries was important. The Young Workers Community Education Project (YWCEP), designed for young female workers in the area, was carefully evaluated. In addition, a complementary inquiry into urban services in the Weld Quay area, which has a flourishing informal sector, was carried out.

Themes and Organization

This volume presents the results of a comparative study of five countries. This chapter has presented the conceptual background and country situations in which self-help participatory urban services have been organized. The last chapter draws together common themes and issues that run throughout the individual studies. The remaining chapters are divided equally among the five countries studied. In each case, an overview of urban service delivery within the country is presented followed by a more detailed discussion on a specific theme.

Following this framework, chapter 2 presents the general orientation of the Korean study that attempted to analyze and improve upon mechanisms that might result in better delivery of basic services to the urban poor in a society experiencing rapid economic growth. Socioeconomic profiles of six communities in the Seoul metropolitan area are presented. A wide range of self-help activities was found to exist in the communities. Improvement in the physical environment, e.g., housing in Chulsae community, is especially impressive.

Chapter 3 focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of the *Saemaul* self-help activity system in urban Korea. It deals with the nature of participation on the part of residents, types of residents' organizations, the role of government, and the critical importance of leadership in the success of *Saemaul* activities. Problems related to cooperative self-help activities are candidly discussed and a number of policy recommendations are offered.

A general survey of service provision in urban Philippines, specifically Metro Manila, Cebu City, and Davao City — the three largest cities in the country — is

presented in chapter 4. On the basis of survey results from seven low-income communities in these cities, detailed profiles of specific basic services in three cities are presented. The chapter concludes with an examination of community leadership in the barangay and discusses the variety of formal and informal organizations that exist and their leadership structures.

A more detailed analysis of a community participation model for the Philippines is presented in chapter 5. It is a management model that advocates closer collaboration and cooperation between government and the community through awareness, organization, and mobilization of resources. Elements of the model are examined and applied to barangay Krus na Ligas, one of the urban communities studied in Metro Manila.

The far-reaching changes resulting from establishing free trade zones in Penang State in Malaysia, particularly with respect to service needs of young workers in these zones and elsewhere, are the primary focus of the Malaysian study. Chapter 6 provides detailed information on the background of the project, socioeconomic background of young workers in the formal and informal sectors, and respective roles of government, nongovernmental organizations, and factories in providing services for young workers. The chapter concludes with many carefully drawn policy implications.

Chapter 7 presents the results of a microstudy within the Malaysian project on the Young Workers Community Education Project (YWCEP), a nongovernmental organization whose main objective is to assist workers in the Bayan Lepas free trade zone in Penang, the first development of this nature in Malaysia. The chapter traces the genesis of YWCEP and its planning, implementation, and evaluation processes. The special feature of this project is its participatory methodology.

The Indonesian study focused on six *kampungs* in Jakarta and Ujung Pandang, located on the islands of Java and Sulawesi respectively. The delivery of social services in these communities was studied through sample household surveys of the residents. Chapter 8 provides the background on and results of these surveys and concludes that, under the present system of service delivery through the *kelurahan*, too much power is given to one person — the *lurah*. The chapter offers several policy recommendations aimed at improving the present situation.

The profile and interaction of leaders, officials, and citizens in the delivery of urban services formed the focus of the Hong Kong study. Chapter 9 presents the results of surveys in four areas of the territory. Analysis of the results suggests that the present delivery system is structurally deficient and a number of policy changes are put forward, some of which have already been implemented.

Chapter 10 reports the results of a special study on mutual-aid committees (MACs) in Hong Kong. Since the early 1970s, MACs have become important and common self-help organizations in the territory. The chapter deals with the history, types, and activities of MACs.

Chapter 11 looks at common themes and issues that have been revealed by the five-country study. This chapter is followed by a selected bibliography on the subject of urban services in Asia, a list of contributors to this volume, and, finally, an appendix that presents currency conversion rates for the various currencies used in the countries involved in the studies.

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Urban Services and the Poor: The Case of Korea[1]

Soo-Young Park, Yong-Woong Kim, and Ok-Hyee Yang

Like in many developing countries, urbanization has proceeded rapidly in the Republic of Korea[2] since World War II. Rural migrants arrive in cities and can afford only low-priced accommodations, frequently illegal, temporary shelters erected on unauthorized sites. Squatter settlements thus proliferate.

Typical public reaction to the squatter phenomenon has been largely negative, as exemplified by numerous clearance and relocation projects. However, strenuous official efforts have rarely succeeded in eradicating squatter areas. Instead, they have led to stubborn opposition by residents and condemnation of officials for the superficial and damaging actions inflicted upon already deprived groups.

Community-development schemes that can become operative on "grass-roots" initiatives and through self-help organizations are being seriously considered as an alternative approach in dealing with squatters. The community-development strategy has been enthusiastically received in many developing countries since World War II, with its focus upon revitalizing backward rural areas.

Although this has served as a relevant tool to launch economic-oriented rural development, the conventional method has been less effective in urban areas when designed for the urban poor, who are rarely provided with an appropriate level of public services. A new method, therefore, is needed to link public resources with those of the local people and to extend urban services for the poor within the framework of a "participatory delivery mechanism."

Korea has initiated a highly organized and integrated community-development scheme under the auspices of the *Saemaul Undong* (New Community Movement). It began in 1971, with strong government support. It initially focused on rural development, but notable and widespread success led to expansion of the movement into urban areas in 1973. It subsequently became instrumental in engineering a wide range of urban physical improvements, combined with self-help activities sponsored by neighbourhood institutions.

Research Objectives and Methodology

The purpose of this study is to investigate how low-income populations in urban depressed communities in Korea mobilized local self-help resources to

[1] This chapter is a condensed version of the final report prepared by the Korean team, written in Korean under the same title and published by the Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements in 1982.

[2] For convenience, the Republic of Korea will be referred to simply as Korea throughout chapters 2 and 3.

compensate for the deficiency in government-provided urban services. Specifically, it is aimed at addressing the essential elements and strengths of self-help activities within the *Saemaul Undong* framework.

The specific research objectives may be outlined as follows:

- to identify the type and extent of urban services furnished via self-help mechanisms at various levels of urban units;
- to explore the process of self-help, with particular emphasis on identification of needs, resident participation, and the role of community leadership;
- to determine the type of government support required and how best to utilize this support to promote local self-help activities;
- to evaluate contributory factors affecting self-help performances in communities; and
- to provide policy recommendations to improve current practices in self-help activities.

As a preliminary step, this study will also identify the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the urban poor in Korea and the level of urban services available. Thus, this chapter will describe the people, services available in communities, and type of improvements made via residents' self-help efforts. Chapter 3 will focus on evaluating some of the significant components affecting *Saemaul* self-help activities, discussing some inherent structural problems and advancing several remedial suggestions.

Three research methodologies were adopted for this study. First, an extensive documentary investigation was carried out to identify the urban poor in Korea and the government's policy on squatter areas. Second, interviews were conducted with officials, leaders of local voluntary groups, and residents living in target areas to examine the nature and implementation of self-help programs. Third, a questionnaire was used to identify the socioeconomic characteristics of residents, urban services they "felt" were deficient, and their attitudes toward local self-help operations.

Research Background

Squatter settlements first appeared in Korea in the form of underground hovels, which numbered some 1500 units in Seoul in 1931 (Seoul Metropolitan Government 1978). More extensive squatter settlements crept over hillsides near the city centre during the late 1940s and 1950s. They accounted for close to 16% of Seoul's total housing in 1960. Massive rural–urban migration, set in motion by the movement toward industrialization and forcefully pushed by the Korean government since the 1960s, affected more than 30% of the nation's population during the 1960s and 1970s.

The rural migrants favoured large cities, necessarily straining available basic urban services, among which housing was the most deficient. People erected temporary shelters in large cities. For instance, the first comprehensive survey on squatters in Seoul, carried out in 1966, revealed a total of 136650 squatter units. They accounted for 27.8% of total housing in Seoul, accommodating 1270000 people, or 33.5% of the total city population. Since 1960, the government has

Table 1. Substandard housing in selected cities, 1971–1980.

	Units ('000)			Percentage of total housing stock		
	1971	1974	1980	1971	1974	1980
Seoul	168	156	154	16.9	22.2	15.5
Daejeon	3	1	3	6.7	2.9	4.6
Iri	0.1	0.4	0.5	1.0	3.7	2.7
Sungnam	—	2	3	—	7.4	6.3

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs (1971, 1974, 1980).

attempted to use force to eliminate these squatters, thus restricting further expansion. However, squatters are still a distinctive feature in urban life in Korea, intimately associated with the urban poor. The most recent data on substandard housing inclusive of squatter settlements are presented in Table 1.

Urban services are poorly provided to this deprived group in Korean cities and improvements in this situation have been slow in coming. Following the Korean War in the 1950s, recovery of the country was given priority. During that period, few of the nation's meagre resources were available for extending public welfare and urban services. The first 5-year comprehensive economic development plan (1962–1966) ushered in a change in the basic policy on the living standards of the people. Elimination of poverty through economic growth became an imperative. The physical infrastructure, including electricity, water supply, and construction of roads and bridges, was rapidly expanded as a prerequisite for industrial development. Corresponding improvements in urban services, however, were not in evidence. A bias persisted in the government's policy in favour of resources being committed to sectors directly contributing to increased industrial production. This was a deliberate government policy that resulted in accelerated economic growth, but at the same time increased economic inequality among people and regions.

At the end of the 1960s, many policymakers shared opinions about the need to rectify the overemphasized urban industrial bias. This has been reflected in remedial actions that have appeared since the late 1960s, culminating in the *Saemaul Undong*, formally launched in 1971. The *Saemaul Undong* was instrumental in transforming rural Korea and its economy, as manifest in the vastly improved physical living environment and income-generating resources in rural areas (Park 1982).

Since 1973, the *Saemaul* movement has expanded its scope to include extended social services in urban areas. A corresponding change has occurred in the municipal policy on squatters, shifting from the initial policy of all-out eradication to a policy encouraging on-site improvement. The latter change was inevitable as demolition is costly, inhumane, and contrary to the trend of viewing squatter housing as a potentially useful residential resource. The new policies accorded with local residents' self-help aspirations, and helped local resources become positively reevaluated. New programs began to mobilize local resources committed to improving poor people's living environment, particularly their housing conditions.

Thus, local self-help resources were incorporated into a legitimate area of municipal policies, expanding the chances of better urban services becoming accessible to the poor. The latest housing improvement program, for instance, has extended long-term housing loans, improved loan eligibility, liberal tax exemp-

tions, and improved administrative and legal procedures designed for speedy execution of neighbourhood-sponsored housing development projects to the low-income group. The latest program also underscores humane considerations for relocated families.

Survey Localities

The two tiers of the local administrative organization in Korea form the target localities for investigation. The lower tier is called the *tong*. It contains a population ranging from 500 to 1000 (or 100–200 households) and serves as the basic operating unit for the activities of the *Saemaul Undong*. The *Saemaul* projects are organized, and their leaders elected, at the *tong* level because its size approximates the optimum ecological unit, where face-to-face contacts are facilitated among residents. In many cases, however, the physical continuity of built-up urban areas makes the *tong* unit an arbitrary delimitation. Accordingly, efforts were made to choose physically isolated and socially cohesive communities for investigation.

The upper tier of the municipality is called the *dong*, accommodating a population ranging from 15000 to 25000 (or 3000–5000 households). It constitutes the lower layer of the local government. It also forms a basic unit in the *Saemaul Undong*, where various local groups' needs are examined, coordinated, and transferred to the municipal government for official action, including necessary technical, financial, and organizational assistance.

A total of 10 communities were selected for the survey, among which six are located in Seoul, the national capital; two in Daejeon, a provincial capital; one in Sungnam, a satellite city adjacent to Seoul; and one in Iri, a small city in southwestern Korea (Fig. 1). The communities in Seoul are widely scattered to avoid the bias created by choosing all survey sites in one particular area (Fig. 2).

The study areas display varying physical, social, and economic features. Some are squatter settlements, whereas others are publicly built resettlement areas where families were relocated by force as a result of squatter elimination efforts and because they were living in flood-prone areas. They also have different legal status, which affects physical improvement. Four communities face no legal restrictions as they are formal residential areas where residents possess land title. Three communities face demolition to make way for development. In such places, local residents' efforts to improve the physical environment were minimal. Two communities were uncertain about the prospect of improvement. Residents in these communities were not authorized to repair, let along rebuild, their houses, even though they had obtained land title. The last community is quite certain of future demolition as it occupies parkland and the city authority is unlikely to legitimize current occupancy.

The survey communities also have varying housing quality. Four communities display relatively high physical standards, among which are two former squatter settlements that have been improved to a great extent by self-help efforts. Another is a recently established community where residents, after being relocated in 1972, built quality housing from their own savings. The last community in good shape is a tenement settlement district, providing shelter for nearby factory workers. The remaining six communities display poor physical standards, even though two are in relatively good repair. Their poor physical environments reflect the residents' lack of enthusiasm for renovation because of legal restrictions.

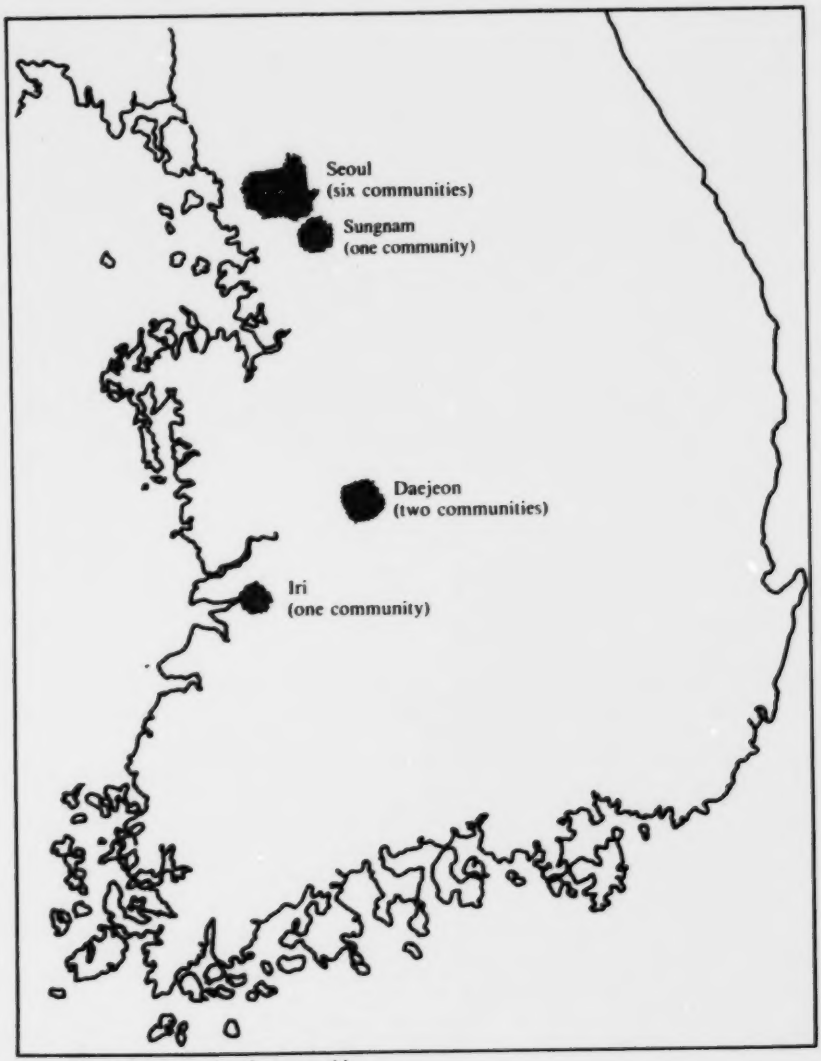
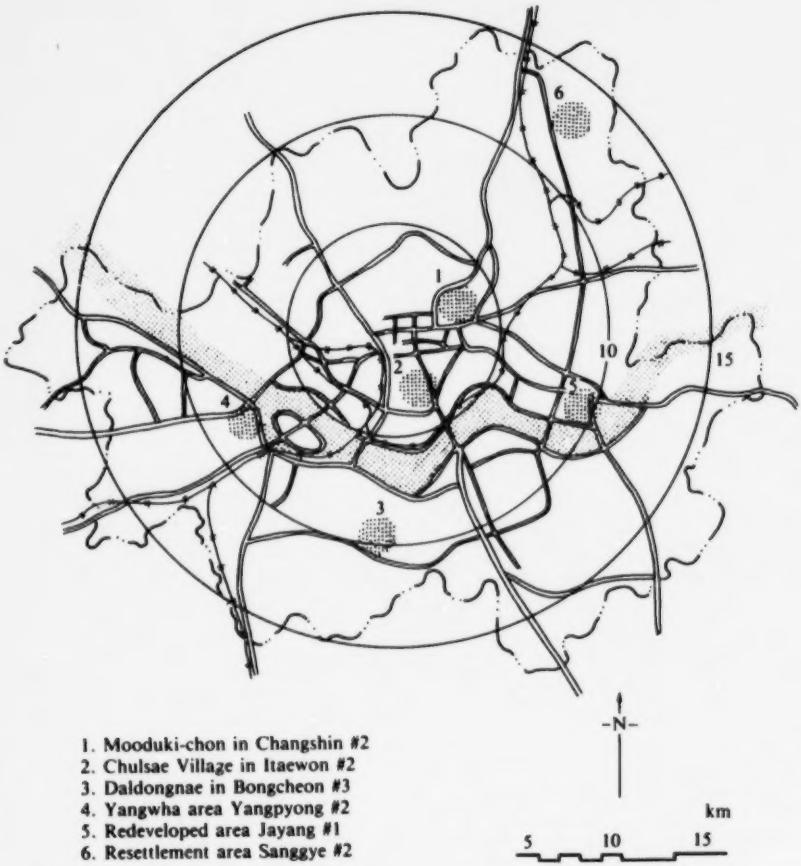


Fig. 1. Location of study communities.

Demographic Profile of Surveyed Residents[3]

The average household interviewed in the 10 communities studied consists of a husband in his early 40s, his wife in her late 30s, and two children — one teenager and one preschooler. The size of the family and age of its members are not very different from those of the typical urban household in Korea.

[3] This profile was derived from survey data from 1244 households in four cities: Seoul, 730; Daejeon, 272; Iri, 130; and Sungnam, 112.



1. Mooduki-chon in Changshin #2
2. Chulsae Village in Itaewon #2
3. Daldongnae in Bongcheon #3
4. Yangwha area Yangpyong #2
5. Redeveloped area Jayang #1
6. Resettlement area Sanggye #2

Fig. 2. Study communities in Seoul.

Male residents generally outnumber females, although the proportion varies among communities. Only in one area (Dandae in Sungnam) did female residents outnumber males. Children under 14 years of age and the elderly (over 65 years of age), both officially classified as being economically dependent, were fewer in number in households interviewed than throughout the nation as a whole (Table 2).

Approximately 90% of the family heads interviewed received formal education, averaging 9 years of schooling. Only 4.3% of family members are illiterate; even fewer family heads (2.2%) are illiterate (Table 3). This level of education far exceeds what has been attained by most poor urban families within the nation, but falls short of the general national average. Younger residents are better educated than their elders.

In general, the younger and better educated residents are concentrated in large urban areas, whereas the older and poorly educated residents live in medium-sized and small town communities. This signifies that younger and better educated people have a higher tendency to migrate to larger cities.

Table 2. Percentage of economically dependent population in study areas.

	Study area					All cities	Small towns in rural areas
	Average	Seoul	Daejeon	Iri	Sungnam		
Children under 14	29.3	28.9	29.0	26.3	32.9	32.5	36.0
Elderly (over 65)	2.6	2.2	2.9	3.2	2.1	2.7	5.7
Total	31.3	31.1	31.9	29.5	35.0	35.2	41.7

Source: EPB (1981a).

Table 3. Education attained by family heads.

	No schooling		Primary school	Middle school	High school	University
	Illiterate (%)	Literate (%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Seoul	1.0	3.2	26.4	25.9	31.4	10.3
Daejeon	2.6	14.0	52.6	15.8	12.4	2.6
Iri	10.1	34.9	34.1	10.5	9.3	0.8
Sungnam	3.6	10.9	37.3	43.6	4.5	2.7
Average	2.6	8.5	33.9	24.9	22.5	6.9

Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government (1979).

Occupation and Family Income

The majority of family heads earn their living working as daily labourers, hawkers, small shop owners, carpenters, plumbers, stonemasons, etc. However, only 28.3% of family heads are employed in full-time salaried jobs (Table 4). Many housewives and grown-up children also work to supplement family incomes. This explains why there are more family members working in the study communities than in other urban communities in Korea (1.6 persons per family work in the study communities versus 1.3 persons nationwide). The most unstable jobs are held by family heads in small-town communities, where only 9.3% are regularly employed, whereas the proportion is 32.6% in large city communities.

Working female family members are engaged in less stable, more poorly paid jobs than are family heads. They work mostly as hawkers, vendors, part-time housemaids, daily labourers, and handicraft workers. Younger people tend to hold regular jobs more often than older people, the jobs consisting of factory work, driving, technical apprenticeships, and office work. This is because they are better

Table 4. Occupation of family heads.

Regularly employed		Self-employed		Unemployed	
Occupation	(%)	Occupation	(%)	Situation	(%)
Professional or managerial	3.6	Operating stores or cottage industries	14.0	Lost job	7.5
Clerical	14.7	Skilled or semi-skilled workers	12.7	Cannot work	7.7
Other labourers	10.0	Peddlers	8.0		
		Unskilled workers	20.4		
Subtotal	28.3	Subtotal	55.1	Subtotal	15.2

Table 5. Employment patterns of residents.

	Informal (%)	Formal (%)	Unemployed (%)
Head of household	55.1	28.3	16.6
Other economically active family members	28.7	45.7	25.6

Table 6. Family income.

Community	Average monthly household income (KRW)	Official income level[a]		Percentage of households under the official income level[b]
		Per capital income (KRW)	Household income (KRW)	
Seoul	205000 (USD 293)	33000 (USD 47)	148500 (USD 212)	23.4
Daejeon	135000 (USD 193)	29000 (USD 41)	146700 (USD 210)	48.9
Iri	105000 (USD 150)	29000 (USD 41)	149100 (USD 213)	70.9
Sungnam	165000 (USD 236)	29000 (USD 41)	138900 (USD 198)	26.4
Average	153000 (USD 219)	31000 (USD 44)	146000 (USD 209)	33.3

Note: USD 1 = KRW 700 (Korean won) in 1981.
[a] Official income standard for public assistance.
[b] Average family members: 4.52 persons in Seoul, 4.78 in Daejeon, 4.98 in Iri, and 5.13 in Sungnam.

educated and can wait until a desirable job can be found, being free of the burden of supporting the family financially. Consequently, a higher rate of unemployment is found among the job-discriminating young people. The jobless rate among young people rose as high as 26.0% in 1981, compared with 15.2% among family heads (Table 5).

According to the survey data, the average family earns approximately USD 250 (KRW 175000) per month. This is equivalent to 60% of Korea's average urban household income. Their income was probably underestimated by 10–20% as residents tend not to report the full amount of their income to elevate their eligibility for public welfare programs. About 33% of the households surveyed are living at what the government refers to as a mere subsistence level. In the worst neighbourhood in the small town sample, 71% of the residents fall into this category (Table 6).

The majority of families interviewed have access to appliances and durable consumer goods. Most posses black-and-white televisions, electric fans, and rice cookers, 37% possess refrigerators, and 22.8% have telephones. Pianos, washing machines, and colour television sets are also commonly owned.

Social Experiences in Communities

People in these communities maintain close and frequent contacts with neighbours for a variety of reasons, ranging from simple socializing to discussing family crises (Table 7). Such contacts help people adjust to urban life and occur more frequently when they need help. In addition to personal-level contacts, organized community activities are actively participated in by most residents, one of which is the *gae*, a cooperative for mutual aid.

Table 7. Frequency of neighbourly contacts.

Purpose of contact	Very frequently (%)	Frequently (%)	Seldom (%)	Never (%)	No answer (%)
Greetings, casual meetings	46.5	36.3	12.9	4.1	0.2
Borrowing domestic necessities	20.8	30.3	31.8	16.7	0.4
Consulting on family and job-related problems	12.7	18.0	33.9	35.2	0.2
Mutual aid	29.1	25.9	30.9	14.0	—

The residents also maintain a high level of citywide communications. Several factors contribute to this. First, most communities are not physically isolated from the regularly developed urban areas, and are situated in close proximity to urban amenities. Second, residents are relatively well informed about what is happening outside the community, relying on mass media and family members who make daily contacts with people outside the community for information. Schoolchildren are also a source of ideas. Third, residents make frequent trips to other areas for schooling, to see a doctor, to shop, for leisure, and for other social activities. Higher income residents, generally better informed and more articulate, also help residents establish or maintain contacts outside the community.

Relatively stable family life prevails among the residents of these communities. Single-parent families constitute 10.5% of all family units, whereas the national average is 12.4%. Only a small number of family units break down as a result of divorce, separation, or desertion. The extended family is on the decrease, whereas nuclear families make up 73.2% of total households. This is in contrast to 60.1% throughout all Korean cities. The greater number of nuclear families in the survey area is explained in part by the migration pattern, in which a family normally leaves its parents in rural areas.

The family head typically exhibits a strong feeling of responsibility for supporting the family, and family life is still bound by tradition. Few cases are reported of premarital cohabitation among young people, and parents' authority is unchallenged in family affairs.

Although most residents have rural backgrounds, they express themselves as future-oriented people, receptive to innovative ideas, challenging traditional thinking and modes of living. Birth control, education of children, and nondiscriminatory treatment of female children are widely accepted.

With respect to social behaviour, most residents value hard work, saving, and better education for children as ways to improve their lives. They acquire these values from firsthand experience as they witness next-door neighbours reach higher economic status through industry, frugality, and better education. Almost two-thirds of the residents (66.1%) expect that life will improve in the future, and close to half (45%) reported that they have actually experienced an improvement in their life-styles. Only a small proportion do not expect to improve their life-styles. This group is made up mostly of families in which the head of the household is unable to work because of old age or chronic illness. Single-parent families with dependent children also harbour, by and large, a pessimistic outlook.

Most families reported that they had not necessarily moved into the study communities because they had limited income. Twenty percent of the families

Table 8. Average duration of residence.

Community	<1 year	1–2 years	2–5 years	5–10 years	10–15 years	>15 years	Average (years)
Seoul	25.4%	13.5%	14.6%	17.3%	15.8%	13.2%	5.7
Daejeon	15.0%	6.8%	15.4%	18.8%	15.5%	27.4%	8.3
In	10.2%	5.5%	14.1%	14.8%	13.3%	42.2%	9.7
Sungnam	28.1%	6.4%	25.5%	32.7%	7.3%	—	4.5
Average	21.8%	10.5%	15.7%	18.8%	14.9%	18.2%	6.8

reported that they earn sufficient income to find more comfortable accommodation in other, more fashionable, residential areas. This implies that they are not trapped in the urban deprived areas for purely economic reasons. Moving into these areas is actually a part of family strategy to achieve higher socioeconomic status. The choice of low-quality housing indicates that a lower priority is given to housing than to education of children, better diet, better clothing, medical care, and other factors. By spending less on housing, savings may be used to finance better education for their children.

Proximity to work, easy access to information on nonwage jobs, and a feeling of security through being close to friends and relatives are also cited as reasons for their living in these communities. Tenants and relative newcomers frequently cited the feeling of security as the reason for choosing their current residence. Most residents perceive their communities as being viable places to live, work, and educate their children. A small number (23.1%) feel ashamed of raising families in these substandard residential areas. This proportion decreases in small-town communities, where very few residents feel ashamed of their residence. In such places, high self-esteem is shared among community members and a higher level of achievement is in evidence, made possible in many areas through self-help activities. It is worth noting that many urban families in Korea have vivid memories of living in squatter settlements during and following the Korean War, which lessens the social stigma assigned to people living in such communities.

The people in the deprived communities are, by and large, long-term residents. A majority report having lived more than 5 years in their present homes. Residents in medium-sized and small towns live in the same place for longer periods than residents of large cities (Table 8). Higher residential mobility occurs in groups having higher socioeconomic mobility. Continuity of residence, on the other hand, is considered to be a contributing factor in building up community identity.

Provision of Urban Services

Among the urban services available in the study areas, housing is not only in the shortest supply, but it is also the factor with which the majority of residents are least satisfied. As mentioned earlier, houses in the survey communities reveal very poor physical standards. Houses are typically small (Table 9) and have a dilapidated appearance. Most were constructed two or three decades ago. No substantial changes to the structure have been made, except for a cement-block outdoor wall that has been installed to replace the original fragile mud and brick walls.

High density and a lack of essential interior amenities further characterize these houses. On average, 2.7 persons share one room, or the 64 square feet (6.1 m^2)

Table 9. Housing floor space and occupancy.

Community	Floor space (square feet)[a]	Number of households in a housing unit	Number of persons per room
Urban areas[b]	818	—	2.3
Total (surveyed)	480	1.6	2.7
Large city			
Jayang #1	612	1.0	2.1
Yangpyong #2	811	3.1	2.7
Itaewon #2	761	2.3	1.9
Changshin #2	555	2.5	3.5
Shanggye #2	177	1.0	3.6
Bongcheon #3	324	1.4	3.0
Medium city			
Sungnam #1	552	1.9	2.5
Boosa	487	1.4	2.9
Small city			
Madong	367	1.2	2.9
Satellite city			
Dandae #1	548	1.6	2.7

[a] 1 square foot = 0.09 m^2.
[b] Sources: EPB (1981a, b).

of floor space allocated to one person's residence. A private water tap is available to only a few households in four communities. Twenty-four percent of the families surveyed do not have a private toilet within their houses. They use public toilets located at considerable distances from their houses. In such cases, 5–10 families usually share one public toilet.

Several reasons are cited to explain this ill-maintained and poor housing. Limited household income is the primary reason. It allows only a limited amount of savings being devoted to housing. Equally significant are cumbersome legal restraints. They prohibit structural changes to housing within illegal, substandard residential areas. Another problem relates to high housing standards, which result in many houses falling into the substandard category. This situation is aggravated further by a time lag in implementing redevelopment projects. This arises because of limited city revenue for such projects, resulting in accelerated physical deterioration within the depressed communities in the absence of appropriate maintenance.

Thus, the majority of homeowners surveyed (75%) indicate that some kind of housing improvement is necessary (Table 10). The redevelopment type of improvement, involving demolition and rebuilding, is favoured by only 30% of the residents interviewed. Those in favour live mostly in the most blighted, public row-housing areas. The compact physical arrangement, involving multifamily houses, suggests redevelopment as the only way open to residents to improve the residential environment. Redevelopment generates significant effects upon neighbourhood quality because it requires complete reconstruction of all dwelling units within the community. It is implemented by a professional construction firm.

Redevelopment, however, is not without its problems. For instance, many local residents cannot afford to undertake such a project over a short period. It is for this reason that more people prefer individual base reconstruction or repair. This is especially true where detached houses are dominant.

Still, houses are actively traded, at prices 40% less than the price of legitimate houses of similar quality (Table 11). Except for houses that are extremely small,

Table 10. Desirable types of housing improvement.

	Sample size	Redevelopment (%)	Individual reconstruction (%)	Repair (%)	No improvement (%)
Bongcheon #3	89	30.1	29.0	17.2	23.7
Sanggye #2	106	62.4	9.2	10.1	18.3
Changshin #2	71	7.0	49.3	23.9	19.7
Yangpyong #2	19	21.1	10.5	26.3	42.1
Sungnam #1	66	3.3	32.8	36.1	27.9
Boosa	75	13.3	7.2	16.9	62.7
Madong	104	44.4	39.4	12.1	4.0
Average		30.2	26.6	18.5	24.7

Table 11. Housing and rental prices.

	Housing price (USD)	Deposit rental (USD)	Monthly rental (USD)
Large city			
Jayang #1	—	6428	—
Yangpyong #2	—	4057	59
Itaewon #2	21429	3157	54
Changshin #2	9286	2514	41
Shanggye #2	3571	2143	30
Bongcheon #3	5000	2414	36
Medium city			
Sungnam #1	6428	2557	37
Boosa	7857	1429	30
Small town			
Madong	2500	1486	37
Satellite city			
Dandae #1	—	1986	37

Note: USD 1 = KRW 700 (Korean won) in 1981.

these houses even generate a subsidiary income through either the deposit rental or the monthly rental. These rental families involve 40% of the total households in the survey communities.

The water supply in the survey areas is relatively good. Its overall level is close to the national average in urban areas. Although most residents have easy access to piped water, a substantial proportion still depends on wells or pumps for domestic needs (Table 12). Moreover, because some of the areas surveyed run along steep hillsides, daily water supplies are sometimes limited. Frequently during the dry summer season, residents in these areas can collect water only during the night or early in the morning.

Generally speaking, drainage is adequate, partly as a result of improvements made through self-help in the past. One shortcoming, however, is the absence of drainpipe coverage in some regional city communities. The exposed, surface drainage facilities create serious hygienic problems, particularly when combined with poor garbage and manure disposal.

Garbage and manure collection is carried out using specially-equipped manure trucks or garbage carriers operated by the municipality. Housewives in these areas, upon hearing the vehicle's bell, carry their garbage bins to the site where the scavenger's carriage is parked. Delayed or irregular collection and the long journey

Table 12. Water supply.

Community	Piped water (%)	Individual tap (%)	Communal tap (%)	Underground (%)
Large city	83.5	72.7	10.8	16.5
Medium city	86.8	21.4	65.4	13.2
Small city	100.0	97.7	2.3	—
Satellite city	75.5	35.5	40.4	24.5
Average	85.7	60.7	25.0	14.3
National urban average[a]	87.1	—	—	11.9

[a] Source: EPB (1981a,b).

Table 13. Medical facilities used for various purposes.

	Public health centre (%)	Hospital/ physicians (%)	Drugstore (%)	Home treatment (%)	No response to survey (%)
Minor illness	4.5	11.3	76.0	5.5	2.7
Serious disease	5.4	70.6	3.5	2.0	18.5
Baby delivery	1.1	20.1	2.5 (Midwifery)	36.9	33.4
Infant vaccination	41.8	43.3	0	7.5	7.4
Family planning	16.9	11.5	1.7	22.0	47.9

residents must make to the cart are the main inconveniences related to garbage collection within densely populated upland communities.

Adequate fire protection is not ensured in depressed neighbourhoods. Poor quality housing materials and the density of the houses leave these areas vulnerable to fire, while narrow roads inhibit the speedy passage of fire engines. In several areas the threat of fire led residents to obtain roads wide enough for fire fighters to reach houses by using extended fire hoses.

Substantial problems face low-income populations with respect to obtaining medical treatment, as many maladies are more common among the destitute than throughout the population as a whole. Most of the low-income population suffer from minor ailments, such as coughs or digestive problems. Eighty percent of the families surveyed report at least one member of the family having suffered from a serious disease. They use several medical facilities for medical treatment. In the case of minor ailments, the drugstore is used most frequently (76.0%). Hospitals or doctors are favoured for serious diseases (70.6%). The use of public health centres for disease treatment is minimal, except for residents of medium-sized city communities. On the other hand, public health centres are utilized primarily for preventive services, such as infant vaccination, neighbourhood disinfection, or advice on family planning (Table 13). Accessibility of medical facilities is good.

When asked about the distance traveled to receive treatment for a serious disease, 60.6% of respondents indicated that the facility used is situated within walking distance. Although patients in "improved" neighbourhoods tend to utilize remote facilities to receive better quality service, many residents expressed a need for expanded medical services within their neighbourhoods. A total of 26.3% of residents surveyed asked for more public health centres and 11% for more drugstores. In areas where the public health centre was located close to the study area, however, only 11.4% of those surveyed indicated a need for more medical facilities of any kind.

Poor health, temporary and prolonged unemployment, and old age are the prevailing problems facing low-income populations. The residents surveyed indicated that they are in need of help to resolve employment problems (21.9%), illnesses (25.7%), and family problems (13.9%). Available social services are used by residents primarily for treatment of illness (47.8%) and solving employment problems (31.3%). When asked why residents shy away from public aid services, a lack of knowledge about the services available or even about the existence and location of welfare agencies was the primary reason given (59.4%), followed by the unfriendly nature of social workers (27.6%) and the fear of invasion of one's privacy (18.9%).

Many poor people have limited access to leisure and recreation facilities. The reasons most frequently cited are lack of money (68.1%), lack of time (4.6%), lack of interest (13.1%), and being engaged in cultural (3.0%) and social (8.1%) activities or physical exercise (3.1%). Concerning the kinds of facilities needed for recreation, nearly half of those surveyed suggested providing playgrounds for children (49.7%) as the first priority, followed by parks (8.7%), inexpensive gymnasiums (3.5%), and senior citizens' halls (2.1%).

Housing Improvement Through Self-Help

Self-help efforts have been made through *Saemaul Undong* to improve housing. Initially, the work was confined to houses built of fragile materials and without adequate space and amenities, but constructed upon land that residents were permitted to occupy. Legal tenure was obtained through purchase from the local government. Limited improvements, such as replacing fragile materials with more durable ones (e.g., cement blocks for the walls and tiles for the roof), were undertaken by individuals. Apart from this, there was little interest in upgrading the amenities of these houses in the beginning.

On the other hand, improvements were being made to squatter settlements that involved collective improvement efforts. These were undertaken at the community level under the "on-site housing improvement program." The program was usually sponsored by the local government, in the late 1960s, before *Saemaul Undong* was in full swing in urban areas. Under the program, the local government was responsible for selecting an on-site improvement site among squatter areas. The primary criterion was suitability of the land for long-term residential use. Following the site selection, residents were given legal occupancy and permits to repair or rebuild houses through their own efforts.

The Itaewon case represents a typical on-site housing improvement project. People in this squatter settlement had constructed two- or three-story brick houses after demolishing the tiny shacks they had previously occupied. This was done on a cooperative basis, with all community members participating. Building materials and some skilled labourers, such as foremen, bricklayers, tilers, or carpenters, were purchased on credit. Work requiring unskilled labourers was carried out by local residents. As the demolition and reconstruction of houses was carried out in sequence, it took almost 3 years to complete all of the houses within the community. To pay back the loan, residents chose structures that were appropriate for multiple rental. Each floor formed a separate dwelling unit with separate toilets and entrances. Through this self-help housing project, the housing lot expanded from

the 300 square feet (1 square foot = 0.09 m^2) occupied by the previous shacks to 600–800 square feet of floor area. Purchase of the property title then became possible. Thus, land and housing values soared following the improvements.

After *Saemaul Undong* became entrenched in urban areas, the so-called cooperative housing improvement scheme was widely adopted in substandard housing areas. Several types of improvements were undertaken: repair (partial improvement), reconstruction, and total redevelopment. In communities where the right of legal occupancy was not given to residents, only partial improvement was possible. In such cases, residents replaced thatched roofs with slate or tiles or repaired other parts of their houses to varying degrees (Fig. 3). Such repairs usually involved group action, because most houses involved multiple ownership. The strength of *Saemaul Undong* was in facilitating such group action, enabling multifamily houses to be improved by residents through pooling their building materials and other resources.

In communities where legal occupancy was allowed, a different picture emerged. Residents could substantially change their living conditions, including building new housing. The Jayang case is a good example of the redevelopment type of housing improvement. It involved residents demolishing their existing substandard houses and building modern apartment units. Residents living in makeshift barracks they set up themselves, with financial assistance from charity organizations, found their interest in upgrading their dwellings growing as they became better off economically. The first step toward reconstruction was the organization of a community credit union by residents. Through the credit union, residents were able to finance the purchase of part of the land they illegally occupied.

Next, the residents organized an executive committee for housing reconstruction consisting of 15 members. It served as an instrument to formally approach the municipal government for permission to carry out the construction and for financial assistance. The municipal government responded by providing a housing loan of

Fig. 3. Partially improved houses in Madong community.

Fig. 4. Apartments built through cooperative self-help activities in Jayang community.

KRW 3 million (USD 7299) to each eligible family. The residents committed the technical work of building the apartment units, with floor space between 605 and 712 square feet (1 square foot = 0.09 m^2), to a local construction firm. In less than 2 years, the work completely changed the substandard area into a modern apartment district (Fig. 4). To help amortize the loan, many residents rented part of their unit to newcomers to the neighbourhood, who were usually in a higher income bracket. There were some households that could not benefit from this improvement — those unable to afford the cost of construction, even when a government loan was provided.

Within the study communities as a whole, housing conditions have not been improved much by the cooperative self-help approach for several reasons. The first reason is that, for the most part, the survey communities were not permitted to repair or rebuild houses because of legal restrictions. Second, the need was not felt strongly by many residents because they had already improved their homes through individual efforts. Third, it was often felt that housing improvement, especially reconstruction, is too expensive. Finally, there was a lack of community leadership to encourage people to improve their homes.

Improvement of Basic Urban Services

The most extensive improvements resulting from self-help activities involved basic urban services. This emphasis can be partly attributed to government policy, which highlights physical improvements as a visible sign of the success of the *Saemaul Undong*. Under this policy, the government will provide financial assistance up to 70–80% of the cost of the improvements. In addition, serious deficiencies in basic services in poor areas tended to make people highly responsive to such projects.

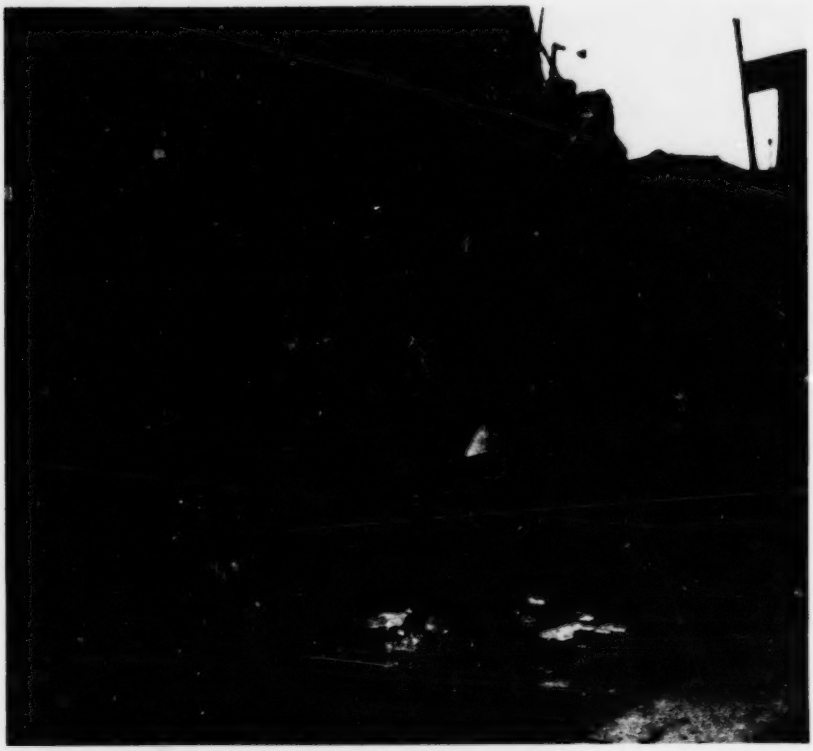


Fig. 5. A self-help communal water pump in Sanggye community.

Water was a prime candidate, as piped water supplies were inadequate in some study areas. In most resettlement areas, local residents were provided with water through public taps built by local governments, but the taps were shared by the residents. In four study areas, local residents improved their water supplies. Typically, this involved installing pumping stations or replacing inadequate pipelines to obtain a sufficient amount of water. The residents would take the initiative and share part of the construction costs. They usually succeeded in obtaining logistical and technical support from the local government. In a few other communities, residents built public wells or independent running water supply systems through the cooperative approach (Fig. 5).

Physical improvements also commonly involved paving neighbourhood lanes, building access roads, and installing drainage systems (Fig. 6). Narrow and winding lanes baffled residents, making many communities inaccessible to vehicles. Local governments were unwilling to build access roads for illegally occupied, substandard areas. Consequently, residents pooled their resources to make their community accessible. Building roads required a substantial amount of money and construction expertise, which were often supplied indigenously by engineers and skilled workers who were residents of the sponsoring communities.

Other self-help improvements involved provision of community welfare facilities, which had been neglected, for the most part, by municipal governments.

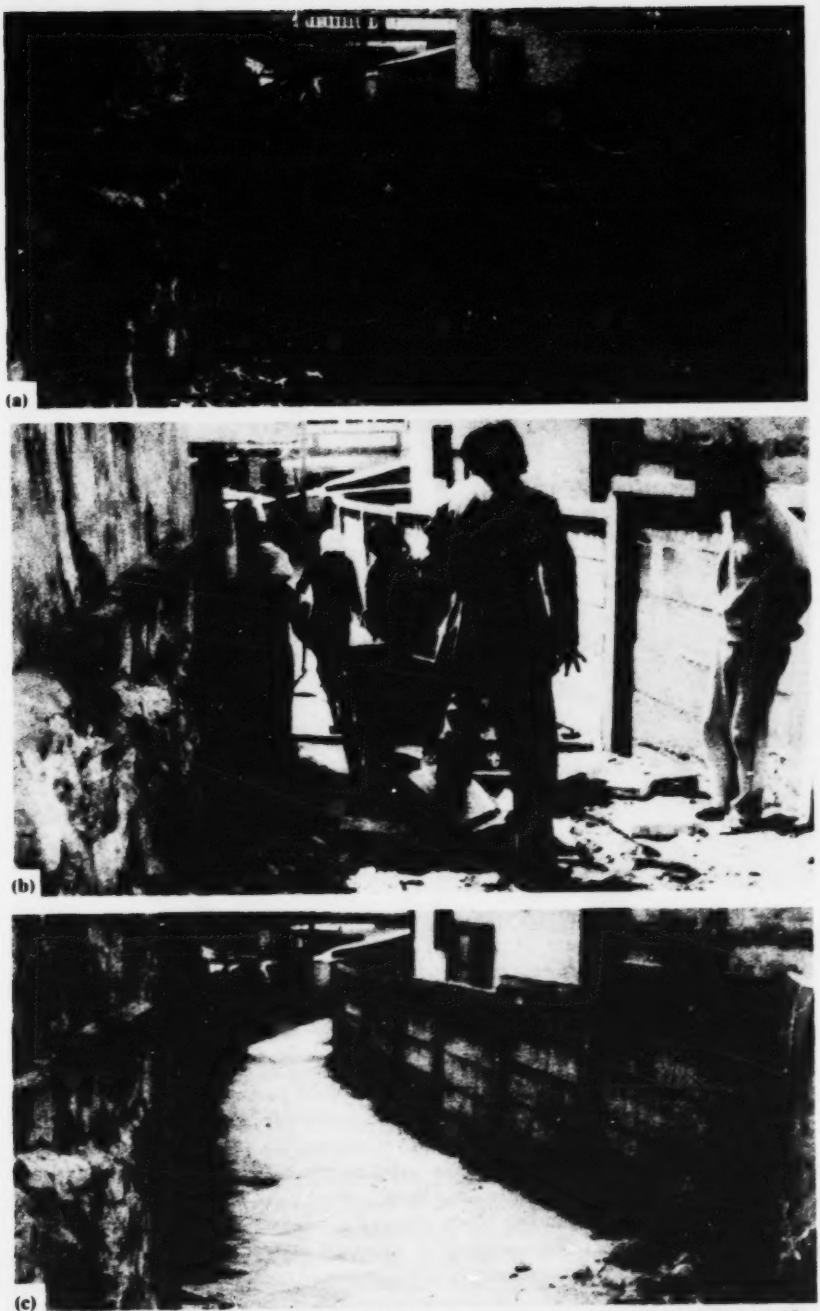


Fig. 6. (a) Alley in Sungnam community before improvement. (b) During improvement. (c) After improvement.

Playgrounds and centres for the elderly were the best examples (Fig. 7). These were built by community residents, who assumed the project costs, where land was available. Local governments, normally, would not provide financial assistance.

Income-Generating Projects

Income-generating projects involving local self-help efforts are of three types: income-supplement work, operation of community credit unions, and cooperative retail business operations. One of the priorities of the central government of Korea is to provide incentives to businesses, such as *Saemaul* factories, being set up in rural areas. Such incentives, which include tax benefits and financial assistance, have not been available to businesses set up in urban low-income residential areas. There are several reasons for this. The primary reason is the lack of space to accommodate such establishments, being restricted by municipal zoning regulations. Another obstacle is a lack, among local residents, of the entrepreneurial and managerial skills required to manage the businesses. This explains the cooperative income supplementary activities, which are seldom sponsored by the urban poor. The exceptions are the many individual small cottage industries and individual handicraft works operating in the communities surveyed, in which women are employed predominantly. Job opportunities, although not always permanent, are sometimes created by self-help projects when prospective beneficiaries of a project are offered jobs in the construction work to pay their share of the construction costs.

The second type of income-generating self-help effort involves operating the community credit union. Generally organized and operated at the *dong* level, the credit union provides direct benefits to homeowners and tenants through savings and loans services. These credit unions grew rapidly in most communities, regardless of the number and extent of self-help activities sponsored by residents. Their location, however, is important. If they are not located within easy walking distance, this can deny them of customers. The community credit unions also perform other services, such as accepting taxes and utility fees, awarding scholarships to needy students, sponsoring various community activities, and operating cooperative shops (Table 14).

The cooperative retail outlet is the third type of income-generating program organized under *Saemaul Undong* (Fig. 8). Cooperative shops are not organized, however, independently of the community credit union. There are six cooperative shops now operating in the survey communities and half of them are considered to be successful. On average, the successful shops have sales volumes amounting to KRW 40 million (USD 56000) per month. They are all conveniently located and are heavily patronized by the local people, who buy commodities at these shops at 20–30% below normal retail prices.

Other Improvements in Social Services

Immunization, vaccination, and birth control services are also offered through self-help efforts. In most cases, these are limited to referral services. One community operates a medical program for poor residents financed by a fund generated by profits from the operation of the community credit union. The medical aid provided is limited to simple treatments, routine checkups, and referrals for those in need of further treatment. In all communities, collective medical treatment is provided

Fig. 7. (a) A self-help community centre in Madong community. (b) A centre for the elderly in Dandae community. (c) A self-help children's playground in Dandae community.

Table 14. Community credit unions in the survey communities.

		Capital (million KRW)	Membership	Average no. of members given credit per year	Average amount of credit (KRW)
Seoul	Itaewon #2	1200 (USD 1.7 million)	4358	3200	1000000 (USD 1400)
	Yangpyong #2	700 (USD 900000)	1600		
	Jayang #1	233 (USD 330000)	500		
	Changshin #2	400 (USD 570000)	1000		
	Bongcheon #3	1000 (USD 1.4 million)	1657		
	Sanggye #2	600 (USD 800000)	2200		
Daejeon	Sungnam #2	200 (USD 300000)	759	1020	570000 (USD 800)
	Boosa	100 (USD 140000)	300		
Iri	Madong	100 (USD 140000)	385	540	400000 (USD 560)
Sungnam	Dandae #1	600 (USD 850000)	1975	1100	1000000 (USD 1400)

periodically by public and voluntary medical agencies. Communities also benefit from specially dispatched medical teams, from charity organizations, which take care of needy patients in low-income areas.

In almost all case studies, existing recreational and cultural services were made available to the survey communities under *Saemaul Undong*. These range from community parks, children's playgrounds, and centres for the elderly built through self-help efforts, to education programs offered for adults. As physical improvements in basic services reach maturity, more of the self-help programs are focused on services catering to individual interests, hobbies, and activities fostering civic spirit. A few communities have organized folk music bands to entertain local residents. Annual sports meetings, game competitions, and sight-seeing tours, or sponsored soccer clubs and women's glee clubs are also organized under community self-help efforts (Fig. 9).

Nationwide efforts have been made in the area of preschool education. Night classes have also been organized for young school dropouts and for adults in job training, even though few such services are found within the communities surveyed. As another type of education service, community scholarship programs have been organized in five surveyed communities. These operate at the *dong* level, as the funds come from the treasury of the community credit union. In the case of Dandae *dong*, a total of KRW 1 million (USD 1400) has been awarded so far to needy middle and high school students since the fund was established in 1978.

Mutual aid is widely practiced among residents under *Saemaul Undong*. Often, money, food, and clothing are collected to help poor neighbours and disadvantaged people in other communities. One survey community also provides neighbourhood funeral services for the poor, whereas another helps poor families send their children to school.

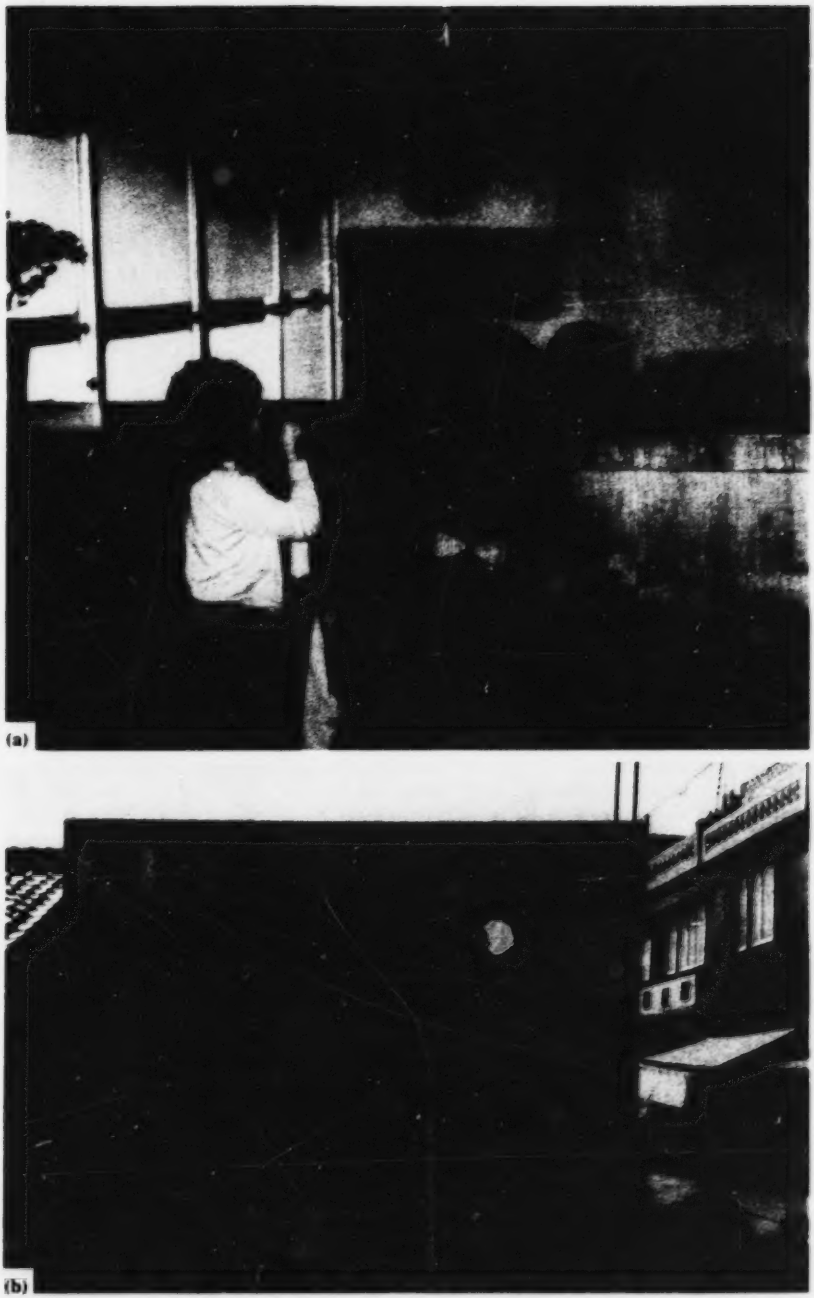


Fig. 8. (a) A community credit union in Madong community. (b) A typical cooperative shop in a small city community.

Fig. 9. Presenting awards to winners of a community game competition in Yangpyong community.

A Case Study in Chulsae Community (Itaewon)

Here, the self-help experience of the Chulsae neighbourhood, one of those in the advanced group, is described, highlighting how residents have improved their neighbourhood. These improvements focus on housing made possible by organized cooperative self-help efforts.

The Chulsae neighbourhood is located on the southern slope of Namsan, 4 km from the centre of Seoul. A typical squatter area that developed in the early 1960s, the neighbourhood contained a total of 185 households (895 residents) in 73 dwelling units in 1981. At first glance, the neighbourhood today has an appearance not much different than an ordinary, middle-income residential area in Seoul. Two- or three-story brick houses are aligned in an orderly fashion along broad, well-paved roads (Fig. 10). Reinforced concrete walls and stone embankments are prominent physical features of the neighbourhood. They support the solid, level ground upon which the buildings are erected. All access roads are well paved with cement, and wide enough for all vehicles (Fig. 11). A two-story community centre adjoins a children's playground, the latter decorated with trees, flowers, benches, and stone tables, as well as monkey bars, slides, and swings (Fig. 12). A huge community garbage container made of cement is also in place, into which garbage collected by housewives is dumped, to be picked up later by a municipal garbage carrier (Fig. 13). A bulletin board displays the name, address, and location of all families living within the neighbourhood. Trees and flowers are planted on every parcel of vacant land. This amicable residential environment is quite impressive. Moreover, it has been achieved by means of cooperative self-help activities initiated by the residents during the past decade.

Fig. 10. Houses in Chulsae community built through cooperative self-help activities under the "on-site improvement" project.

Fig. 11. Self-help access lane in Chulsae community (12 m wide and 350 m long).

Fig. 12. Self-help children's playground in Chulsae community.

Fig. 13. Self-help communal garbage collection container in Chulsae community.

Origin of the Neighbourhood

The origin of Chulsae neighbourhood dates back to the illegal occupancy by squatters of a place known as "the shrubby hillside," an army shooting range vacated in 1963. As in the case of other depressed squatter areas formed in large cities, it took shape over a short period, through the addition of five to ten families a day. The topography, however, was unfavourable for human habitation. For one thing, the slope of the hillside was very steep, in some places more than 80°, which made the area vulnerable to landslides (Fig. 14). Even a small amount of rain created dangerous floods. Frequently, residents would stay away from their shacks on rainy days for fear of landslides.

In spite of this difficult environment, the number of shabby shacks rapidly increased. These shacks were made of straw sacks, tents, cardboard boxes, and tin plates. Only a very narrow lane (less than 1 m in width) connected this area to the permanently settled centre of the neighbourhood some 1 km away, where a local government *dong* office, a bus station, and commercial facilities were located (Fig. 15). There was no electricity, water supply, or drainage available, and no waste collection service. Water had to be fetched from an underground well. Trash was simply dumped by residents to accumulate in small gorges near the shacks, creating a health hazard. Most residents experienced instability in income, emotion, and morale. They were labourers or peddlers living on a subsistence income, able to afford only minimal shelter. Whenever possible, residents would leave the settlement. Chulsae, however, was never deserted, as even more deprived families continued to move in. Thus, the area was continuously occupied by squatters with limited financial resources and few aspirations to improve themselves. Poverty was something shared by residents with varying backgrounds, coming from different places, instinctively distrustful of each other and, in many cases, hostile and

Fig. 14. Houses in Chulsae before improvement.

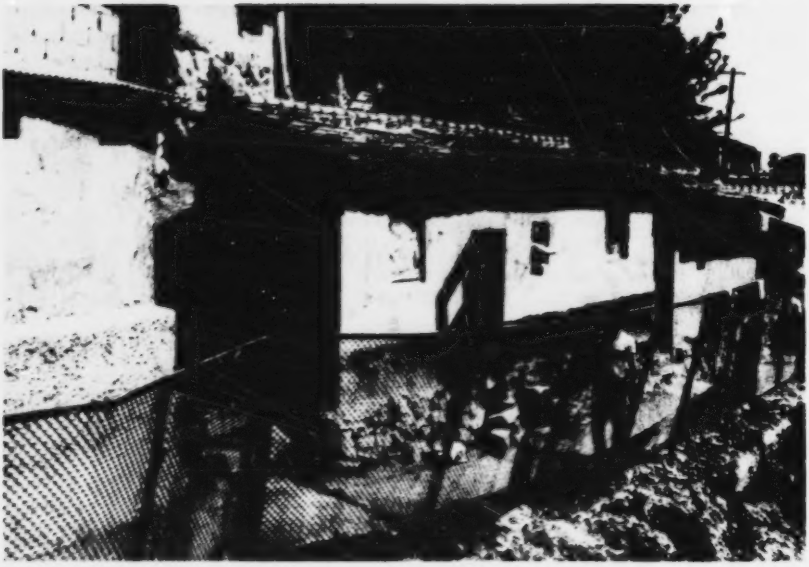


Fig. 15. Main access lane in Chulsae before improvement.

uncooperative. As the name implies, the Chulsae (migrating bird) neighbourhood was where poor families and recent migrants from rural areas led a most precarious life, with very few of the skills needed to adjust to urban life.

Preliminary Action for Housing Improvement

In spite of the illegal nature of occupying this area and the gross lack of basic living amenities, the neighbourhood continued to grow. The last surge of expansion, in 1967, left the community with more than 100 households. At this point, the local government was obliged to classify the neighbourhood as a separate *tong*.

The first move to get residents to organize cooperative self-help activities came in the early 1960s. The direct impetus came from the Seoul municipal government, which was advancing a policy to eliminate illegal squatter areas located near the city centre. This policy was typical of other policies advanced throughout the 1960s purporting to deal with illegal squatters, involving forced eviction of residents and relocation to vacant, city-owned land on the periphery of the city. Usually 1 or 2 months advance notice was issued to allow the people to leave the area on their own accord. If they failed to vacate the area, forced on-site clearance was executed. This was carried out by local officials dispatched from the *gu* (ward) administration office, which has primary administrative responsibility for squatter clearance. In most cases, the families involved had no alternative to staying to the last minute and facing forced clearance. Fierce clashes ensued with officials before they gave up. The Chulsae neighbourhood, however, survived this clash by reacting ingeniously. Overcoming this crisis, in fact, provided the springboard for the neighbourhood to leap forward into self-improvement projects.

Chulsae's assets included intelligent and devoted leadership and the residents' willingness to help themselves, which created an environment for mutual aid. An equally important asset was the two neighbourhood-wide *gae* (one for men and another for women) fostered by all residents since 1965. A *gae* is a private mutual-saving institution utilized extensively for centuries in Korea. It aims at frugal saving by the community and at promoting fraternity among the members. At the monthly meeting of the Chulsae *gae*, residents had opportunities to acquaint themselves with each other and to discuss common residential problems. Furthermore, the monthly dues for the *gae* had steadily accumulated to form a substantial community chest, to be tapped later for neighbourhood improvement. In addition, the regular saving practice had psychological benefits for residents, including a strong sense of attachment to the neighbourhood and enhanced self-confidence.

A most conspicuous role in initiating the community improvement self-help efforts was played by an indigenous leader, Mr Yoon, a volunteer working as an unpaid coordinator, linking local residents with the ward office for various administrative matters. His frequent face-to-face contacts with the residents acquainted him with the problems of the residents of Chulsae and with their potential self-help capacities. He played a leading role in employing the residents' self-help resources in specific development schemes. The first such scheme involved the squatter clearance project, which was formally announced for the Chulsae neighbourhood in 1966. Following meetings held frequently and attended by all residents, formal channels of communication were sought with the local government to lodge their petition against the clearance.

Resident representatives were dispatched to municipal offices to work out legitimate occupancy of the site. They asked that the residents be permitted to make needed housing improvements. Repeated contacts with authorities, led by Mr Yoon, and persistent appeals by the residents resulted in the government relaxing its attitude and suspending the clearance project. Faced with the financial constraints posed by all-out immediate housing improvement, residents adopted an incremental approach whereby outdoor walls would be replaced by cement blocks and tin plate roofs would be replaced by tiled roofs.

The episode of self-help housing was followed by other developmental actions, such as the laying of 360 units of sewage pipe under the steep slope, thus eliminating the threat of flood during the rainy seasons. More important, this project was planned, executed, and proved successful based solely on the residents' concerted efforts. It was a response to their common needs, without government support.

On-Site Housing Improvement Project (1968–1971)

Public criticism mounted against the indiscriminate mass clearance of squatters as demolition leveled more than one-fifth of the total housing stock in Seoul. Accordingly, a change occurred in policy in 1968, officially allowing housing improvements to be made within substandard areas. The new policy, however, specified minimal building standards to be observed, in terms of the minimum width of roads and the size of housing plots. The previous housing repairs in the Chulsae neighbourhood, unfortunately, failed to meet these standards. Permission for an on-site improvement project for the neighbourhood was obtained, in 1968, after more than 3 months of negotiations. The residents successfully negotiated with the Ministry of National Defense, owner of the site, for title to the land. A plan for

the on-site improvements was drawn up by the residents. Typically, two or three households, previously occupying about 300 square feet (1 square foot = 0.09 m^2) of land, would be allocated a construction plot. There was a total of 43 such units. Two- or three-story houses, occupying about 600–800 square feet of floor space, were also built beginning in 1970.

Cement, bricks, tiles, lumber, stones, and mortar were purchased on credit from the neighbourhood construction material stores. Skilled labourers, such as foremen, bricklayers, plasterers, tilers, stonecutters, and carpenters were also employed on a credit basis. Debts were to be paid off within 2 months of completing the houses, as additional rooms were rented out, thus generating income for the families.

It took 4 years (1968–1971) to complete all housing improvements in the neighbourhood. The program's success resulted in various benefits to the residents. The houses were of good quality, surpassing what might be expected of self-help housing construction undertaken in an urban depressed area. Property title was purchased by residents either through one full payment or on a 5-year installment plan. Land and housing values soared following the improvements. The successful housing improvement project also triggered a self-sustaining mobilization of all potential resources needed to improve the lives of the residents in the Chulsae neighbourhood. Costs were minimized through many residents voluntarily contributing their labour. Many unemployed and underemployed residents became employed. To the advantage of the neighbourhood, a number of surveyors, foremen, plasterers, carpenters, and bricklayers were residents.

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The *Saemaul* Self-Help Activity System

Soo-Young Park, Yong-Woong Kim, and Ok-Hyee Yang

Cooperative self-help activities of community residents, particularly government-guided activities such as those of *Saemaul Undong*, are promoted through cooperation among residents, resident leaders, and local governments. Such cooperative activities are designed to mobilize and organize residents' inventiveness and available resources effectively. These activities involve efforts to make necessary goods and services available to meet the needs of the local community. Thus, they are considered essential to ensure residents' voluntary participation and their understanding of the process of cooperation. This chapter, therefore, will focus on the characteristics of residents' participation and the roles of leaders and local government authorities rendering support in the survey districts. The emphasis will then shift to investigating several factors that could prevent cooperative, self-help activities from becoming ongoing, self-sustaining features of community life, and, finally, to presenting measures to improve current practices.

Characteristics of Residents' Participation

In cooperative self-help activities designed to improve community services, the forms of residents' participation vary greatly depending upon the nature of the activities and the extent of their experience. When these activities are promoted with the government's support and guidance, or when community residents have little experience in self-help programs, their participation might involve no more than simply acting as a source of labour or sharing the costs. When the activities receive no government support, but are carried out on the residents' initiative, their participation may involve decision-making at all stages of the program: planning, implementation, and management. Many cooperative activities are promoted on a voluntary basis, with little or no government support.

Participation can be divided into three stages: planning, implementation, and follow up. At the planning stage, cooperative activities in most survey districts are guided by the government. Residents' participation at this stage is very limited. They generally assume only a subordinate role in deciding whether or not they would undertake the proposed project and, if the decision is positive, how to share the project's costs. In most cases, residents endorse and follow programs that have already been worked out by the village leader or city authorities. In the case of voluntary activities in areas where residents have plenty of experience, most decision-making following the inception of the program is undertaken at residents' general meetings.

To study the form of resident participation at the implementation stage, it is necessary to distinguish between sharing of costs and furnishing of labour. In most

cases, cost sharing is achieved according to one of two alternative principles. One is to make those residents who will benefit bear the cost. The other is to let residents freely make donations according to their perceived interests. Projects aimed at improving essential community services, such as waterworks and sewer systems, are usually financed by means of compulsory cost sharing. The free donation method is adopted for construction of nonessential community facilities, such as children's playgrounds and halls for the elderly.

Sharing of labour is also achieved in two different ways. One is a direct contribution of labour; the other involves initially contributing the monetary equivalent of one's share of the labour, then getting the money back in the form of wages by personally participating in the work. For small-scale cooperative projects, residents will usually carry out the project by directly contributing their labour. If a project is larger, and is implemented through city authorities contracting the work out to some construction firms, the latter method of labour sharing is adopted.

As a project nears completion, resident participation varies greatly depending upon the project and its locality. With some government-led programs, and in districts where residents lack the ability to carry out such programs, participation ends mostly at the implementation stage. In other cases, residents will continue to participate even in evaluating projects and in follow-up operations associated with the facilities established through their activities. Upon completion of a project, residents will receive reports filed by the project implementation committee on the final status of the project and on the financial accounts. If there should be a surplus in the budget, they will discuss how to use it; then, they will further discuss the management of the newly constructed facilities.

Resident Organizations and Their Roles

Residents' participation is realized mostly through resident organizations. These organizations are either resident-participatory organizations or resident-representative organizations, the latter consisting of representatives of the residents.

These resident organizations can be temporary, dissolved after a specific goal has been achieved, or permanent and continue to function on an ongoing basis. Some are informal, where everyone is welcome and members may be well acquainted with each other; others are formal, open to selective groups within the community, but whose objective is to pursue the common interests of the entire community.

The most typical of the resident-participatory organizations is the formal *tong/ban* organization (neighbourhood association). These organizations are headed by *tong/ban* chiefs, who are appointed by the chief of the *dong*, the lowest local administrative unit. They help the *dong* chief in transmitting instructions from local government authorities and in facilitating the movement of residents. In addition, they also represent the residents by monitoring their opinions and conveying them to local government authorities.

Because *tong/ban* chiefs are well respected, residents consult them on a wide range of personal and community issues. About 60% of the residents of the survey districts reported that they have experience in conveying ideas through or consulting with *tong/ban* chiefs on community problems. This indicates that with respect to resident cooperative activities, *tong/ban* chiefs are a medium through which the

opinions of residents can be transmitted to government authorities. They can play an important role, therefore, in facilitating communication between the government and residents.

Residents, at the same time, meet monthly at *ban* (neighbourhood association) meetings. These meetings provide an opportunity for the exchange of views between local government authorities and residents, as well as fostering friendship among residents.

At *ban* meetings, people discuss individual and local community problems. The *ban* is the basic organization through which residents can discuss local activities. According to interviews conducted with community leaders and public officials in the survey districts, recent local self-help activities (*Saemaul Undong* in particular) are based predominantly on the desires of residents as expressed at *ban* meetings.

Inhabitants' requests for urban services and improvements of community environments, among other issues raised at *ban* meetings, can often be promptly acted upon by city authorities or settled by means of *Saemaul* projects.

The most important role of the *ban* meeting, as seen by the *Saemaul* leaders of the survey districts, is to autonomously resolve local problems. This is followed by its role of conveying residents' opinions to local governments and making known to residents details of local government administration. These roles indicate that the *ban* meetings are an important part of the cooperative activities carried out by people.

Together with *ban* meetings, general residents' meetings held at the community or village level provide additional opportunities for residents to participate in community programs and self-help activities.

In addition, residents can participate directly in community-development programs through other organizations. These include women's clubs, elderly clubs, youth clubs, and the love-of-hometown clubs of students under the age of 14 years. Although all local residents are eligible to participate in *ban* meetings and general residents' meetings, only interested persons are expected to participate in these organizations.

Leaders in Self-Help Activities and the Government's Role

Resident leaders assume a critical role to ensure the success of cooperative self-help activities, such as those of *Saemaul Undong*. Residents are the main constituents of local self-help activities, but their leaders, particularly *Saemaul* leaders, are the driving force in uniting them to promote community projects.

These leaders are generally appointed for the residents, rather than being chosen by them. Rarely are *Saemaul* leaders elected by the residents either through direct voting or open selection. People who are tacitly recognized as village leaders by residents are recommended by the *dong* chief; they are then appointed by a city mayor (or a ward office director).

Saemaul leaders are not elected because their principal role is to contribute to community development without pay and, therefore, there is little competition among residents to become *Saemaul* leaders. In most cases, they are already long

recognized by residents as leaders through their proven role in informal village activities. The city has simply to discover such people and formally ratify their status by making them *Saemaul* leaders.

Thus, most leaders are nominated and receive appointment, as opposed to seeking the position. This was verified by the recent motivation survey of *Saemaul* leaders in urban areas. According to this survey, those who become *Saemaul* leaders at others' recommendations or by appointment accounted for more than 90% of the total. Only 9.8% became leaders on their own initiative.

Earnest leaders are usually long-time residents who have good rapport with other residents. They tend to have a wide range of experience and proven ability to fulfill the duties of *Saemaul* leaders, which involve working with inhabitants and cooperating with city authorities. They are also people who can afford to spare the time to devote themselves to community activities and at the same time lead a relatively stable life engaged, for example, in their own business.

On the other hand, there are inactive leaders who tend to have lived in the community for only a short time. These people lack the experience necessary to serve effectively as *Saemaul* leaders and represent the residents of a community. They tend to lead an unstable life, usually being employed by others. They are only able to perform at best a very passive role. These inactive leaders, whose roles are extremely limited, are engaged only in executing *Saemaul* projects that are initiated by municipal authorities.

The government, in addition to community leaders, also has an important role to play in sustaining self-help activities carried out by residents through voluntary participation. A great deal of government support is generally required to enhance local ability to develop programs, particularly during the initial stage, when sufficient enthusiasm has not yet been generated. For this reason, the government's first role is to induce enthusiasm to help residents become better able to promote and carry out significant programs. Most projects carried out in the survey districts were implemented under government-supported programs, rather than under the initiative of the residents.

In addition to incentives accorded to individual projects, the government also has a role to play in creating a favourable climate for promoting self-help activities. This is usually accomplished by means of public relations through mass media, pamphlets and books, and educational and cultural programs. Activities are also promoted indirectly through *Saemaul* oratorical contests, sports meets, writing contests, presentations of success stories, *Saemaul Undong* rallies, tours of industrial facilities, film showings, and leadership-education programs, all of which are organized under the auspices of the government.

In particular, the Central Training Institute for *Saemaul* leaders has been providing educational programs specifically tailored to enlighten *Saemaul* leaders. Most of the active *Saemaul* leaders in the survey districts affirmed that such educational programs were stimulating, helping them significantly to serve better as leaders.

The government is also responsible for establishing an organizational foundation for residents' cooperative activities. It helps residents form their own organizations in association with local administrative agencies at the city, ward, and *dong* levels, including the *tong/ban*, which is the basic organization of residents.

The most popular form of direct government support is financial aid, such as the supply of materials and operational funds needed for cooperative activities. The largest portion of government financial support in the survey districts went toward physical improvements, such as road construction, road expansion and paving, sewer construction or improvement, and improvement of waterworks. Such projects, financed for the most part from the government's treasury, place very little financial burden on the residents. Government aid, on average, financed 70% of the total cost of *Saemaul* projects.

In addition, city authorities provide engineering support in the design and implementation of projects. To this end, each city or ward office has its own engineering advisory committee, consisting of public officials holding civil engineering posts. They are assigned to designing projects, estimating project costs, and supervising construction work. Technical support by the government helps prevent defective works that might otherwise result from a lack of technical expertise among the residents.

Problems in Cooperative Self-Help Activities

During the process of self-help activities promoted by residents, problems arise that are often inextricably linked to the roles of residents, leaders, and the government. Accordingly, they need to be reviewed comprehensively.

One problem stems from the limited number of residents participating in self-help operations. In addition, their participation is generally restricted to simple matters, such as provision of labour and cost sharing, and not with the important issues faced during the process of decision-making as it relates to project initiation and execution.

There are several reasons for the passive participation of residents. First, the proposed operations have not become a subject of great interest to rent-paying tenants because so much emphasis is placed on the physical improvement of housing. Thus, only property owners benefit from the projects. Second, community programs have failed to draw interest from residents of all ages and socioeconomic backgrounds because the programs stress frugality and the need to help needy neighbours, which are frequently unappealing to residents.

In addition, many aspects of community improvements in the survey districts have materialized on the strength of government assistance. As well, local leaders have acted on government initiative. For this reason, residents usually fail to assume an active role in self-help operations. Also, such operations tend to focus on achieving so-called substantive goals, best illustrated by efforts to improve the physical environment. As a result, they generally neglect the attainment of process goals, as manifest by the need to cultivate the local ability to perform locally determined projects democratically and efficiently.

Organizations pose another problem. Not only resident-participatory organizations, but also resident-representative organizations have been weakly developed in the survey communities. In such a case, personality prevails over community consensus in terms of its effect on self-help operations. The neighbourhood association (*ban*) is the smallest neighbourhood organizational unit, but it does not appear to function adequately as a forum for synthesizing community opinion. The *ban* is at best a channel aiding in facilitating communications between the government and

residents. Meanwhile, the *dong*, which is supposedly an organization representing residents, generally has such weak representation that it cannot ensure autonomous operation.

A fundamental cause of this institutional weakness is that residents lack the ability to execute organized activities. Furthermore, they are poorly adjusted to the organizational pattern inherent to the *Saemaul Undong*. *Saemaul Undong*, a government initiated movement, has so far been operative at the level of the *dong*. A *dong* has a population of some 3000–5000 households. It is too large and impersonal to be an effective working unit and to promote among residents a sense of belonging to and intimacy with the community. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that official members of the representative organization are selected without direct involvement on the part of the residents, i.e., not through voting.

Leadership is another area in which there are major problems because of the lack of competent voluntary leaders. Indigenous leaders cannot afford to devote enough time and energy to the task. Cooperative activities, therefore, tend to lose momentum in many small-sized community units, especially those in survey districts below the *dong* level because they suffer from the dearth of active and able resident leaders. The willingness of community residents diminishes and their initiative suffers because leaders fear they will be overloaded with local responsibilities. In addition, most resident leaders are inexperienced. They are not knowledgeable technically and able to lead an indigenous organization independently. Organized leadership is a necessary ingredient to ensure the success of self-help operations in urban communities. Under weak leadership, residents can undertake only a limited amount of work.

The shortage of voluntary leaders is attributed to many factors. The most familiar is the case where urban residents have places of employment away from their residences. Most family heads in the survey districts, for instance, are employed outside the local community. This makes it difficult for them to spare the time required to be a volunteer leader, as the leader is indeed expected to contribute much time and energy for the sake of the community. At times, leaders have found themselves torn between carrying out their own personal business and community duties. Heavy obligations are imposed upon them. It costs them much of their personal time to fulfill their leadership role, a role covering all aspects of cooperative activities ranging from persuading indifferent residents to support activities to planning, executing, and following up on complicated ventures.

Some problems arise because of confusion surrounding the role of resident leaders. One such problem is a result of the overemphasis placed on the moral aspect of the leadership role. Much importance, for instance, is attached to the personal mission and enthusiasm expected of resident leaders. These have been touted as essential qualities of *Saemaul Undong* leaders, whereas training in leadership and other skills required for the position are neglected.

The government has also been responsible for creating some of the problems. In the past, it has sponsored community activities of its own initiative. These activities have often not been diversified. Government assistance, although substantial, has tended to be extended only to those projects in favour of improving the civic-minimum, community-wide basic physical services. Improving social and economic conditions specific to individual communities, on the other hand, has not received sufficient consideration. Such communities exist under a wide range of social and demographic conditions. Different needs and desires are also expressed

by residents of these communities. Another problem relates to the government's paternalistic approach. Public paternalism counteracts residents' participation. To the extent that the public authorities are somewhat overzealous, the effect is to suffocate voluntary operations in local areas.

Government frequently overreacts in an attempt to attain the greatest possible results in the shortest possible time. This poses serious problems to residents who have not fully adapted to the externally determined pace and who are not fully cognizant of the importance of attainable process goals in self-help programs.

Policy Recommendations

Continuously progressing self-help activities in Korea are a national goal, achievable only when residents become awakened to and concerned about the potential benefits that can arise from such activities. It will require that residents can be called upon to be active in project promotion and creative in execution. To this end, activity-promoting units need to be readjusted. It will also require that patterns of self-help activities be diversified and methods of implementing projects improved. At the same time, the type and method of government assistance needs to be reworked, with the change agents, including resident leaders, being secured and their quality improved.

Major improvements are possible in these areas. Specific improvements can be recommended on the basis of past experiences. The first relates to the area and extent of residents' participation. Participation must be expanded through residents' enhanced awareness of the participatory process and resulting benefits. To this end, the target of identified self-help activities may shift. So far, many community-sponsored projects were oriented toward improving the community's physical environment. In certain areas, such a practice turned out to be socially discriminatory. It was because of this fact that in the process the tenants, who are even poorer than the shack owners, became an alienated group. The only beneficiary, therefore, has been the property owner. For this reason, the alienated tenants will participate in activities only when they are reasonably sure that they will reap some of the benefits too. The benefits, however, will reach them only when self-help projects depart from the past practice of overly stressing physical improvements. This requires a revision of operations. The revision should address those programs aimed at enhancing the quality of living conditions, such as early education, hobby development, cultural enlightenment, vocational training, and income-boosting projects. Income-related projects may, in fact, become a priority as they allow residents a better chance to benefit equally, regardless of whether they own real estate or not.

The recommended shift in target activities is also an important measure responding to a new trend in *Saemaul Undong*. The prevailing trend is to give priority to improving the living environment over the importance of improving the household economy. This requires creating income-generating opportunities for poor people.

The cultural aspect of cooperative activities may also come to the forefront. A desirable direction is to encourage residents of various age groups and different socioeconomic backgrounds to become interested in community projects. Residents are bound to lose interest if excessive emphasis is placed on physical amelioration that does not appeal to them culturally. Lack of interest will subsequently lead to an

inadequate foundation upon which to sustain actively promoted community development.

As pointed out earlier, self-help activities must begin with and rely upon the direct participation of residents. In addition, it is important that grass-roots participation be enlisted at all stages of development projects, from planning and decision-making to the follow-up stages. The result will be an ideal framework for self-help operations. It will, for instance, help residents perform more autonomously, within a more systematically organized working environment.

It is repeatedly emphasized that residents' organizations are in need of consolidation. To advance this cause, it may be desirable to remodel the basic operating unit to conform to an appropriate size. The most frequently recommended size is a working unit of 200–300 households. At this scale, a community's physical, and sometimes geographical, distinction can be related to the socioeconomic disposition of the residents.

As mentioned earlier, the *dong* is now the basic operating unit sustaining *Saemaul Undong*. This is partly because the government sponsors projects at the *dong* level. It is also because various resident representative and participatory organizations are formed at this administrative level. The *dong*, however, at its present size and composition, is considered to be a somewhat inadequate unit to advance *Saemaul Undong* because it cannot effectively create a sense of social cohesiveness among residents. At the *dong* level, it is more unlikely that community awareness can be shared by residents. In this context, the *dong*, being too big in terms of the number of households within the unit, is in need of reorganization to become a working unit capable of efficiently promoting community programs. The widely varying socioeconomic and demographic composition of *dong* residents explains why communities that exist within the same *dong* often have many different problems that require many different solutions.

The *tong/ban* residents' organizations rank below the *dong* and are, in fact, a subdivision of the *dong*. To a far lesser extent, these organizations still maintain the geographical identity of the community but the socioeconomic and demographic composition of the residents remains varied. In this case, the problem is not one of oversize but undersize, in which self-help operations cannot benefit from the economy of scale. It is suggested, therefore, that many communities could perform self-help operations better if two or three *tongs* within a single community were merged into a single, unified operating unit. Such a suggestion is tantamount to the argument that a residents' organization can best serve its goals when it is of a size that will allow residents to synthesize common needs and interests that can be effectively translated into working programs and implemented by all members of the neighbourhood unit.

With respect to the resident participatory mechanism, the primary issue is the limited number. The numbers should be sufficient to support residents in various age cohorts and hobby groups. Such organizations serve their purpose well if they can enlist the maximum number of people in life-enriching programs. Needless to say, they should operate democratically.

The leaders play a crucial role in determining the success of *Saemaul Undong*. In this context, improved indigenous leadership is emphasized. Leaders from outside the community can also contribute if they possess professional knowledge. In particular, they can be sought for those communities that are deprived of earnest

and self-sacrificing local leaders. They can be sought together with professional community organizers. The greatest merit of effective leadership is that it can nurture the self-help potential of residents. The current pool of resident leaders may require better training to assume a more positive role, e.g., coordinating the diversified interests of residents adequately.

In implementing cooperative projects, resident leaders may give more weight to residents' adaptability. Education will enable residents to become increasingly adaptive under varying working environments. Education can also encourage residents to become more independent and cooperative members in ongoing activities. When better informed, residents can help leaders perform their roles more efficiently through open lines of communication. Community organizers can also play a positive role as they can visit leaders from time to time to guide and supervise them.

Able leaders' accomplishments can add another dimension to community work, particularly when they make self-sacrifices, even to the point of abandoning their own employment. However, the virtue of leadership based on self-sacrifice is overemphasized and has placed an inordinate burden on leaders. At the same time, it can impair the self-governing ability of residents. An adequately defined role that is appropriate to resident community leaders would be one of assisting, rather than commanding, residents. It would not be one of taking full responsibility for the conduct of all operations. Overzealous leadership can backfire. It cannot only discourage residents from becoming full-fledged participants but also cause unnecessary discord and friction among leaders and residents. This will be particularly evident as residents' self-governing ability grows.

Impaired and poor leadership can combine with limited knowledge of and experience in local affairs on the part of residents to reduce the local capability to run democratically organized community works. Accordingly, educating both residents and leaders should receive high priority.

Government support is another area of concern. The government's approach to financial assistance is at issue as there has been considerable debate suggesting that public aid should shift toward community-by-community support, rather than project-by-project support.

This seems to be a reasonable argument as the present practice has driven residents to become exceedingly reliant upon government-supported programs. In the process, government financial assistance has concentrated on specific, but predetermined, uniform projects, especially those upgrading community infrastructure. This practice has ruled out the significant role that should be played by residents in choosing among competing projects and in tailoring programs to their needs.

Financial support might better be provided by the government without directing it toward a specific program. The effect would certainly boost residents' self-governing ability, making them increasingly autonomous with respect to program conception and management. It would also reduce the current limitations of government-financed projects by allowing residents to choose those projects they feel are needed most and commit their resources toward these. Thus, greater local involvement can be expected in the implementation of selected projects by allowing residents to dispense public support for program development as they see fit, rather than government merely indicating what to do with the public financial aid.

In recent cooperative activities, residents have been inclined to demand increasingly diversified ventures. In particular, there is a growing need for social and cultural development programs within communities. One way to meet the growing cultural demand is to rely more upon community cultural experts and train local experts to promote programs and guide residents in their quest for such programs. Moreover, more functional support along this line should be extended from the government, in a manner flexible enough to vary in its details and methods.

Depending upon the specific character of local communities and the ability of residents, individualized government aid in general can be more effective in self-help operations. It has already been indicated that in destitute urban areas problems stem from the poor physical living environment and varying socioeconomic impacts upon residents. There is also a wide gap from one community to another with respect to their ability to solve community-wide problems. Thus, rigid and uniform assistance is likely to have no great effect.

Finally, all government-financed community projects should be designed to articulate technical procedures. This is necessary to ensure acceptable workmanship. Government-supported projects should also involve processes encouraging direct, democratic participation on the part of residents. If a self-help activity is aimed only at achieving substantive goals for efficiency's sake, then the process of democratic participation is apt to be ignored. Subsequently, residents will be more likely to lose interest in fostering self-reliance and autonomous management ability. Therefore, at all stages, self-help operations should ensure decision-making through democratic participation by residents. Government authorities, residents, and leaders must all realize that this is more important than the mechanical achievement of substantive goals.

Although some of the above measures may not be applicable to all communities, they are suggested here to serve as a guide to creating a healthy foundation upon which self-help activities in Korea can be advanced.

Appendix 1. Self-help activities undertaken in advanced communities.

Community	Activities undertaken within the sponsoring neighbourhood units	Activities organized at the *dong* level
Chulsae village in Itaewon #2, Seoul	Housing improvements (mostly rebuilt on site) Building drainage facilities Building and paving access road Building community centre Building hall for the elderly Building public latrine Building children's playground Building community park Parties for the elderly Planting trees to beautify community Organizing speech contest Community funeral services for poor families Building community bulletin board Cooperative street cleaning	Organizing a community credit union Cooperative shops Collecting waste materials for saving Organizing morning soccer clubs Donations for poor neighbours
Redeveloped area in Jayang #1, Seoul	Reconstruction of dwelling units (124 units) Building drainage facilities (before redevelopment) Paving community lanes Organizing community credit union Cooperative street cleaning Organizing garage sales	Organizing morning soccer clubs Organizing fishing clubs Collecting waste materials for saving Donations for poor neighbours
Yangwha area in Yangpyong #2, Seoul	Replacement of main water supply line Building drainage facilities Paving community lanes Adding street lighting Organizing cultural tours for the elderly Various game competitions for adults Opening community office Collective purchasing of seasonal goods Organizing games for teenagers Cooperative street cleaning	Organizing a community credit union Awarding scholarships Voluntary traffic control Collecting waste materials for saving Donations for poor neighbours
Shinsulgi in Madong, Iri	Replacing fragile roofing materials with slate Building community running-water supply system Building drainage facilities Paving of community lanes Expanding pavement of access road Agricultural products Organizing a community credit union Cooperative shops Building community centre Building hall for the elderly Building community latrine Awarding scholarships Maintaining community library Cooperative purchasing of common utensils Organizing love-of-hometown clubs Cooperative street cleaning	Collecting waste materials for saving Donations for poor neighbours

Appendix 2. Self-help activities undertaken in intermediate communities.

Community	Activities undertaken within the sponsoring neighbourhood units	Activities organized at the *dong* level
Solati village in Boosa, Daejeon	Building a pumping station for water supply Pavement of access and service roads, community lanes Building community latrine Installation of streetlights Cooperative street cleaning	Organizing a credit union (dissolved) Cooperative shops Installation of wastebaskets along the street Organizing tours for the elderly Collecting waste materials for saving Donations to poor neighbours
Nongol in Dandae #1, Sungnam	Communal well construction Building and paving access roads and community lanes Building hall for the elderly and playground for children Cooperative street cleaning Planting flowers in open lots Repairing and cleaning community stream Drainage construction	Organizing a community credit union Cooperative shops Building a community centre Improving the bus station Organizing education for residents Awarding scholarships Extending affiliation support to the rural community Organizing education for the elderly Awarding prizes to promote filial piety Operating a bus to carry students to school Group wedding ceremony Collecting waste materials for saving Donations to poor neighbours Organizing community athletic games

Appendix 3. Self-help activities undertaken in rudimentary communities.

Community	Activities undertaken within the sponsoring neighbourhood units	Activities organized at the *dong* level
Refugee's village in Sungnam #1, Daejeon	Paving access road and community lanes Cooperative street cleaning	Organizing a community credit union Building seniors' hall Upgrading community latrine Building flower beds Organizing morning soccer clubs Organizing folk band Organizing parties for the elderly Organizing athletic meetings Collecting waste materials for saving Donations to poor neighbours
Mooduki-chon in Changshin #2, Seoul	Drainage construction Lane pavement Building a community centre Building a security post Cooperative street cleaning	Organizing a community credit union Awarding scholarships Organizing parties for the elderly Collecting waste materials for saving

(continued)

Appendix 3. Concluded.

Community	Activities undertaken within the sponsoring neighbourhood units	Activities organized at the *dong* level
		Installation of nameplates for each house Construction of flagpole Donations to poor neighbours
Daldongnae in Bongchun #3, Seoul	Expanding and paving lanes Cooperative street cleaning	Organizing a community credit union Cooperative shops Extending affiliated support to rural communities Voluntary traffic control and safety campaign Organizing garage sales Collecting waste materials for saving Donations to poor neighbours
Resettlement area in Sanggye #2, Seoul	Paving community lanes Cooperative street cleaning Building community flower beds Building flagpole Building community bulletin board	Organizing a community credit union Awarding scholarships by community credit union Collecting waste materials for saving Organizing athletic meetings Donations to poor neighbours Aid to home for the elderly

Participatory Urban Services in the Philippines

Exaltacion Ramos and Ma. A.A. Roman

Man is currently facing a continuous struggle for a long, healthy, and fulfilling life in a rapidly declining environment. Several major trends place humanity almost on a collision course with disaster. Some of these include rapid growth of the world's population, acceleration of world industrialization, and increasing per capita consumption of various resources — all of which result in increased pollution and other forms of environmental deterioration.

The population of the developing world almost doubled between 1950 and 1980 from 1.7 to 3.3 billion. This is clearly seen in the growth of cities. Some of the fastest growing cities are increasing by as much as 8% each year. An analysis of the growth patterns of cities indicates that about 40.0% of the increase is a result of migration and 60.0% a result of population growth. Migration to cities or urban centres is typical of nations in which economic differentials exist among regions. This holds true in the Philippines. There seems to be a positive correlation between level of development from region to region and volume and direction of migration; hence, a greater "urban pull" (PREPF 1980).

With the increasing population and increased movement to urban centres, policymakers within developing countries are voicing concern about the effects of rapid urbanization, such as overcrowding, continuous growth of squatter settlements, pollution, traffic congestion, and deteriorating delivery of basic services. The majority of people in most urban poor areas, therefore, live at a level of "subsistence urbanization." This implies that the ordinary citizen possesses only the bare necessities, and sometimes not even those, for survival in an urban environment (Moore and Smelser 1966).

Governments have tried various approaches to influence population distribution but have had little success. Explicit population distribution policies, such as resettlement, have been costly and have had minimal effect on the problem. The situation in urban poor communities continues to be miserable, with inadequate basic amenities to meet the needs of the people.

Delivery of Basic Urban Services

When more than 7 million people live within an area of 636 km^2 (total area of Metro Manila), they require a lot of services. Water must be collected, purified, and delivered and used water and human and other wastes must be removed. Electricity must be generated and distributed. Garbage must be collected and dumped else-

where. Protective services must be set up to make life in the crowded metropolis safe.

Usually, provision of basic urban services is the responsibility of a government agency. Thus, in Metro Manila, there is the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS), Manila Electric Company (MERALCO), Metropolitan Manila Police Command, etc. The model is one of top-down delivery, i.e., the government provides the services, the people pay for them, and a group of managers and workers ensures that the services are provided regularly.

A critical lack of services in Metro Manila and other urban centres points to the failure of this approach. In Metro Manila, for example, surveys of slum and squatter communities have shown that water usually has to be fetched from sources outside the home. One survey, conducted in the early 1970s, showed that only one-third of the households had piped water inside the house (Abueva et al. 1972). This finding, indicating the difficulty experienced by the urban poor with respect to access to water services, is borne out in the studies of Hollnsteiner (1975), Laquian (1968, 1979), and Jocano (1975). Other studies have indicated inadequacies in sanitation services and facilities. A study by Hollnsteiner (1975) describes two out of three toilet facilities as being "primitive" and finds that only one in five households uses a water-sealed toilet. Respondents in the Hollnsteiner study mention that "the lack of on-site piped water and sewer-drainage facilities makes the area dirty, smelly, insect- and fly-infested, and generally unsightly." Often, the lack of services leads to more serious problems. The National Health Plan (1975–1978) referred to in a World Bank study, for example, has cited poor environmental sanitation as a major factor contributing to the high incidence of communicable diseases in the country.

The same pattern of inadequate service delivery exists for other basic services, such as provision of electricity, and in other cities within the country. A recent World Bank study has pointed out that, at the national level, the infrastructure for services such as water supply, sewerage, and drainage are inadequate for the population's needs. Given the increases in population and the growth of urban centres within the country, the gap between demand and supply for services among urban poor communities is expected to remain or become more acute in the future.

The failure of the top-down service delivery model has prompted many urban residents to help themselves. In many slum and squatter areas, for example, people have set up illegal hookups to electric and water lines. They have organized *rondas*, or community police, and fire-fighting brigades instead of relying on police forces. Local leaders have mobilized the poor to become more self-reliant, arguing that they cannot rely on the metropolitan and national structures to provide services. As interesting as self-help community efforts have been, they have not been effective in providing basic urban services. They may be suitable for ensuring peace and safety, but providing potable water or electricity is too technically complex or expensive to be a self-contained effort.

The advantages and disadvantages of both "top-down" and "bottom-up" basic services delivery have led to the proposal that participatory management be used to make services accessible even to the urban poor. In this approach, both the government and the community pool their resources and efforts to make services possible. The scope of this participatory approach, its input and management requirements, its organizational and functional elements, and the best way of achieving it were the main ingredients of this research project.

Participatory Urban Services Study

The main objective of this research project was to undertake a study of the basic urban services available to the low-income areas of three Philippine urban centres. Specifically, it aimed to: (1) identify and define the nature, scope, and magnitude of the basic urban services available to the low-income areas and (2) describe a participatory management model and the support structure needed to implement the model.

The entire project ultimately attempted to formulate a descriptive model of a participatory management system that would rely heavily upon the joint effort of the government, residents of the community, and possibly the private sector. To achieve this, the project was divided into separate studies, each with a particular sector as the target or focal point of the study. These studies involved: (1) an overview of the delivery of basic urban services in each of the urban centres, including a brief description of the service delivery mechanism and status of services within the area; (2) a descriptive presentation of the current status of basic urban services in seven low-income communities in three Philippine urban centres as revealed by a survey; (3) a community leadership study aimed at determining who the leaders within the community are — the potential participants in the proposed participatory urban management system; and (4) a participatory management study discussing the participatory model (model building and its application to the community or site studied) and the support system (the people needed to make the model operational).

The services that were specified in the study were chosen on the basis of shortages identified in previous studies. One study indicated that ". . . the most serious shortages are in drinking water, toilet facilities, electricity, and garbage disposal. Other shortages also occur in fire protection, health and sanitation, police and other security services, recreation, education and social welfare" (Laquian 1979).

The services studied in this project, therefore, were: water, electricity, garbage collection and disposal, sanitation, fire and protective services, and medical, maternal, and child health services.

Research Methodology

Existing Situation

A review of historical data on the growth of cities and services within the country was carried out. Previous studies on the status of service delivery in urban areas, particularly in Metro Manila, where problems and studies abound, were analyzed.

The review showed a clear picture of existing service delivery mechanisms and policies from the viewpoint of government and an account of the status of services available to slum and squatter communities based on previous studies.

Household Survey

Seven low-income communities from three urban centres were utilized as survey sites: Krus na Ligas, Barrio Kahilom, and Tramo Wakas in Metro Manila;

Tejero dos and Sambag Dos in Cebu City; and Agdao Creek and Matina Aplaya in Davao City. A total of 1197 respondents were interviewed during the survey: 515 in Metro Manila, 395 in Cebu City, and 287 in Davao City.

In Metro Manila, three communities, designated as priority areas or target areas for improvement by the National Housing Authority (NHA), were chosen: Krus na Ligas (in Quezon City), situated in the northern part of Metro Manila; Barrio Kahilom (in Pandacan), located in the heart of Metro Manila; and Tramo Wakas (in Parañaque), in the southern part of Metro Manila. Three general criteria were used in choosing these areas. The first involved the physical and technical characteristics of the community: land area, number of families, density, land use, predominant type of structure, and existing public services available in the area. The second consisted of social considerations, such as adequacy/inadequacy of social services, tenure or length of occupancy by residents, and presence of community organization and support. The third criterion included land acquisition considerations, such as land costs, whether or not the land is free from ongoing legal proceedings, etc.

In Cebu and Davao areas, two sites from each were chosen with the help of the Regional City Planning Division (RCPD) and the Slum Improvement and Resettlement (SIR) offices using more or less the same criteria as mentioned above. The RCPD comes under the City Planning and Development Board, one of the implementing arms of the city mayor, whereas the SIR office falls under the NHA regional structure. Tejero Dos is a community within the central business district of Cebu City, whereas Sambag Dos is located on the periphery of the city. In Davao City, the sites chosen were Agdao Creek and Matina Aplaya. The former is situated in the heart of the city and the latter on the periphery.

The sampling procedure was carried out at two levels. First, from among all the low-income communities in each of the urban centres mentioned, three communities from Metro Manila and two each from Cebu City and Davao City were chosen according to certain criteria (i.e., location of the community within the city, age of the community, ethnicity, and relative age of the community). Second, existing dwellings at all seven sites were mapped, with every fourth housing structure at each site being marked and a resident at that dwelling being interviewed.

An 18-page structured questionnaire was designed to obtain information on the basic urban services available to residents of the study sites. The questionnaire was divided into seven blocks, six of which dealt with basic services and the other containing questions that yielded background information on the respondents. Two sets of questionnaires were prepared: one set, used in Metro Manila, was in English with Tagalog translation; the other set, for Cebu and Davao, was prepared with Cebuano translation.

The frequencies of responses to items on the questionnaire were tallied and converted into percentages. The resulting percentages were then tabulated and interpreted.

Community Leadership Study

The study was conducted in three of the seven sites mentioned earlier: Krus na Ligas in Metro Manila, Sambag Dos in Cebu City, and Agdao Creek in Davao City. The respondents were chosen from among the respondents of the household survey who have lived in the area for at least 20 years. In all, 129 respondents were

interviewed: 46 from Krus na Ligas, 40 from Sambag Dos, and 43 from Agdao Creek.

A six-page structured questionnaire was used in conducting the interviews. The questions attempted to elicit the following data: (1) persons approached during emergency situations, such as fires, floods, epidemics, and individual or group conflicts, (2) persons consulted for opinions or advice regarding community politics, community projects, and economic and livelihood issues, (3) residents' concept of a good leader, (4) perceived leaders within the community, and (5) persons considered to be most influential within the community.

A separate structured questionnaire was also used in interviewing identified leaders. The questionnaire attempted to gather background information on these leaders — who they were, their characteristics, and their accomplishments and future plans for the community. The data gathered were then analyzed to come up with profiles of these leaders.

Responses to the items/questions requiring residents to identify persons they considered leaders were tallied and an arbitrary cutoff point was established to determine who among the identified leaders would be considered for analysis. These responses were converted into percentages, tabulated, and then interpreted. The verbatim responses to open-ended questions (i.e., concept of good leader), on the other hand, were summarized and included in the findings.

Identified leaders' responses to interview items on socioeconomic variables (such as sex, civil status, age, length of residence, educational attainment, occupation, and monthly income) were again tallied, tabulated, and later converted into percentages. Similarly, verbatim responses to open-ended questions were summarized and included as findings of the report (Ramos 1983).

Basic Urban Services Situation

As in many other developing countries of the world, the urban population of the Philippines is growing faster than the total population. In 1960, 25.0% of the total population lived in urban areas. This increased to 32.0% in 1970 and 36.0% in 1980. Metropolitan Manila, the country's primary urban centre, already had a population of 5.5 million in 1980, with more than one-third of the people living in slum and squatter areas. By the year 2000, Metro Manila's population is projected to become 12.6 million, with about half in slum and squatter areas. Conditions are not as critical in other urban areas, such as Cebu, with a population of 507000, and Davao, with a population of 703000. In the decades before the year 2000, however, the population growth rates in these two intermediate cities are expected to accelerate as Metro Manila reaches the saturation point and both natural population growth and internal migration contribute to the growth of the nonmetropolitan centres.

The rapid growth of the urban population has placed a considerable strain on the delivery of basic services. Despite government programs to strengthen or expand service delivery, acute shortages still exist, as demonstrated by the formation of long queues to obtain water.

Here, the existing urban situation will be reviewed from two perspectives. At one level, the availability of services will be looked at based on past research studies. At another level, the status of service delivery will be discussed — what is

the "supply" picture in terms of services, and what is the existing service delivery mechanism or scheme.

Access to Services

Previous studies on the availability of basic services within the country show that the condition is generally unsatisfactory. A comparison made on the level of selected services between urban and rural areas seems to indicate that the situation is far better in urban areas than in rural areas (Table 1). One study cautions, however, that these findings ". . . do not mean that service levels in the urban areas, either in the Philippines or other countries in the region, are adequate. On the contrary, the opposite is usually the case due to a combination of factors such as the concentration of low-income populations in the cities and the lack of resources and central planning on the part of the government" (Chander et al. 1979).

A more recent study gives a similar picture of the status of basic urban services in Metro Manila. The study, undertaken by the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP), and called the DAP Social Weather Station (SWS) Project, was a quick response survey conducted during the first half of 1981 involving 500 respondents from various income levels. A summary of the findings is given below:

> The access to public utilities is highly uneven, except for electricity. *Water* is the highest priority problem: only 56% have a direct water connection; of those with a connection, 43% are dissatisfied with the services; those who say the service has worsened outnumber those who say it has improved, and this unfavorable balance of opinion is most strongly held by those in class E (based on socio-economic status (SES), this is the 'very low class'), among all the classes. In contrast, *electricity*, aside from being almost universally available in Metro Manila, is rated as unsatisfactory by only 19%, is popularly rated as having improved since 1980, and gets even better ratings from the lower SES (socio-economic status) classes than from the higher SES classes.
>
> There is a clear balance of opinion that the *garbage collection* has improved. However, 30% are still dissatisfied. The service gets a highly favorable view from the poor (based on self-rating) and from class E; its only unfavorable view is from class AB.
>
> There are serious problems in the area of *public safety and justice*. The different SES classes do not differ in their perceptions. Half of the sample see danger of robbery in the streets of their neighbourhood, and three-fourths see danger of burglary into their homes. Only one-third agree that most crimes are solved by the police, and two-thirds feel that victims of crimes are reluctant to report them to the police. A majority still feel that criminals are prosecuted whether rich or poor, but half would not expect the courts to give evenhanded treatment. (Mangahas 1981)

Several studies have focused on the delivery of basic services at the microlevel — to determine the level of services in selected low-income urban communities. The studies of Laquian (1968, 1972) show the extent of service availability in slum

Table 1. Service levels, by household, in the Philippines, 1970.

Services and amenities	National (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)
Piped water	24	54	11
Electricity	23	60	7
Toilet facilities of some kind	63	79	55

Source: Yeh and Laquian (1979).

and squatter communities (Table 2). Once again, the findings indicate inadequate services to meet the needs of the population and an uneven distribution of services depending upon the city, community, and service involved.

The findings of this study on low-income urban communities are reinforced by studies conducted at different times and by different agencies. In Metro Manila, the pattern of service availability is consistent, as shown in Table 3.

Access by low-income urban community residents to basic services, therefore, is slow and not fully satisfactory from the point of view of the residents. The basic services found to be inadequate most often were water, housing, sanitation, electricity, and protective services.

City Administration and Delivery of Services

The cities chosen for the study are Metro Manila (the metropolitan centre of the country), Cebu, and Davao. The three urban centres, ranked as the most progressive and heavily populated in the country, are located in each of the country's major island groupings. Each city operates as an almost autonomous unit under an individual charter.

Delivery of basic services is carried out jointly by sectoral government agencies or quasi-governmental entities and metropolitan or city agencies. The metro-

Table 2. Selected services and amenities in squatter and slum communities in six Philippine cities, 1972.

Services and amenities	Baguio (%)	Cebu (%)	Davao (%)	Iligan (%)	Iloilo (%)	Manila (%)
Piped-in water	68.6	90.4	54.5 (rely on rainwater/ artesian well)	71.8	20.0	64.5
Have electricity in the home	80.1	44.0	89.6	43.6	47.9	95.2
Presence of toilet facilities of some kind	94.9	6.8	96.4	44.0	89.0	59.7

Source: Laquian, quoted in Castillo (1979).

Table 3. Services and amenities in squatter and slum communities in Metro Manila.

Services and amenities	Barrio Magsaysay (Laquian 1968)	Barrio Magsaysay (Hollnsteiner 1975)	Grace Park, Maypajo, Balic-Balic (Abueva et al. 1972)	Looban (Jocano 1975)	Leveriza (Laquian et al. 1981
Piped-in water	[a]	[b]	28.5% (53.6% outside the house)	—	27%
Have electricity in the home	65%	70%	—	[c]	90%
Presence of toilet facilities of some kind	[a]	33%	—	None	69%[d]

[a] Residents in this community complained about the lack of water, roads, and toilet facilities.
[b] Water is obtained from the city slaughterhouse, a tenement building, or national pipelines in the vicinity.
[c] Author notes that some families own televisions, record players, and electric fans, indicating the availability of electricity.
[d] Includes communal toilets.

politan or city administration is the ultimate service unit that ensures production and delivery of the services.

Metropolitan Manila Metro Manila, which is in Luzon, has remained "the primate urban conglomeration of the country" (Decaesstecker 1978). It is made up of four cities and 13 municipalities that form a contiguous metropolitan area. The centre for almost all activity within the country, Metro Manila draws large numbers of migrants into its already teeming slum and squatter areas. In 1980, one-third of Metro Manila's population lived in slum and squatter areas. By the year 2000, this number is expected to increase substantially and account for half of the metropolitan population.

Presidential Decree No. 824, issued by President Marcos on 7 November 1975, provided for the creation of the Metropolitan Manila Area, also referred to as the National Capital Region. This was given the status of a public corporation, with provision for a manager–commissioner type of government. As a central government authority administering the area, the Metro Manila Commission (MMC) integrates planning and the delivery of vital services within its service area. The MMC is organized under a Governor and has the following centres to cater to the needs of the populace: Action Centre for Infrastructure Development, Barangay Operations Centre, Engineering Operations Centre, Plan Enforcement and Regulations Centre, Health Operations Centre, Refuse and Environmental Centre, and Traffic Operations Centre.

The basic service needs of the urban population outstrip the capability of government agencies to supply them. In the area of water, the waterworks system has been described as being obsolete and neglected, although the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS), the service agency charged with the delivery system, has embarked on a program to greatly expand its water supply capacity.

Water to meet the needs of Metro Manila comes from reservoirs in nearby provinces. Much affected by the level of rainfall in the country, water levels are usually low; hence, supplies are inadequate during the summer months.

In 1975, the MWSS served approximately 91.0% of Metro Manila's population. The system had a capacity of 395 million gallons per day (1 gallon = 4.55 litres), plus a supplemental capacity of 18 million gallons per day from wells. Assuming a per capita daily requirement of 91 gallons, the average daily demand was 440 million gallons, more than the system's capacity. In the future, population growth is expected to outstrip supply; thus, service will continue to be inadequate.

In terms of sewerage, conditions are just as bad. Forty-six percent of the city of Manila has an antiquated sewerage system that was installed in the early 1900s. Much of the sewage is still being discharged untreated into waterways and eventually into Manila Bay. Flooding and drainage also remain problems despite government programs on flood control.

Electricity is supplied in Metro Manila by the Manila Electric Company (MERALCO). Power is supplied by the National Power Corporation, an agency under the Ministry of Energy charged with the development of power systems using mainly hydroelectric sources. Because of relying on water in dams to generate power, however, electricity has been affected during summer months, when power failures occur more frequently. Energy is also supplied from oil-based thermal plants; thus, power rates have escalated considerably since the energy crisis.

Garbage disposal remains a big problem, with the volume being far above the capacity of the garbage disposal system. To help solve the problem, a special centre was created under the MMC.

There are several agencies responsible for providing police and protective services in the Metropolitan Manila area. These were consolidated as the Metro Manila Police Force, under the Philippine Constabulary, through Presidential Decree No. 421 issued in 1974. Because police forces in metropolitan cities have been characterized as being fragmented and with limited capability, protection from crime is not effective. Also, the police/resident ratio is undesirable at 1 : 800. As a result, many business establishments hire their own security guards, guarded housing subdivisions have mushroomed, and communities cooperate in *rondas* or nighttime patrolling of their neighbourhoods.

In the case of fire, the problems include inadequate coordination among the units involved, such as public utilities, and insufficient facilities, equipment, and staffing. The problem is compounded by the existence of poorly implemented building codes and fire safety regulations, the lack of fire extinguishing systems, and, in some cases, narrow roads and alleys.

Health services are provided through city-supported facilities, such as hospitals and health centres. Metro Manila's Health Operations Centre coordinates the implementation of health programs. Since the creation of Metro Manila in 1975, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of barangay health centres and hospitals. Health services, such as ongoing specialized programs, are provided by Ministry of Health agencies.

Cebu City Cebu City is the capital of the island province of Cebu and is the oldest city in the country. A busy city, Cebu is the cultural, educational, commercial, and maritime centre of the Visayas. In 1980, the population of Cebu was close to 0.5 million. It is expected to grow to approximately 3.5 million by the year 2000, largely as a result of internal migration.

The city is run by a mayor and an administrative team. Services, therefore, are provided by the city offices, or by the city with the help of other government agencies and ministries. A city administrator handles development functions for the city, such as planning, operations, finance, public enterprise, and special projects and programs. As such, delivery of basic urban services is coordinated under this office.

Water service delivery in Cebu City is the responsibility of the Metropolitan Cebu Water District (MCWD), which was created on 9 May 1974. The main objective of MCWD is to increase public water supply coverage from an estimated present level of 45.0% to at least 85.0% of the total population. To achieve this goal, MCWD has undertaken projects to expand its water service.

Electricity is provided by a quasi-public corporation, the Visayan Electric Company (VECO), which was granted a franchise to operate in 1972. Power is supplied by VECO directly from its power plants and from the National Power Corporation.

Garbage collection and disposal remain a problem in Cebu City, with the capacity of the government agency responsible below required levels. Although the service was provided in the past by private contractors, at present the Department of Public Services (DPS) is responsible for garbage collection and disposal, construc-

tion and maintenance of all barangay waterworks systems within the city, and general cleanliness. Garbage disposal is a big problem as the city dump some 8 km from the city is open and exposed.

Sanitation is also the responsibility of DPS. Drainage and sewerage are the responsibility of the City Engineer's Office.

The Cebu Integrated Police Force is generally responsible for providing police and protective services. This force has provided training to the barangay *tanods* (peace and order guardians) to extend protective services and has involved its personnel in meetings at the community level.

Fire-protection services are provided by the local fire department. Actually, this department performs three main functions: fire fighting, fire protection, and general administration.

The City Health Department undertakes the delivery of health and nutrition services to Cebu City's residents. However, data show that this unit can only meet 35–40% of the health needs of Cebu City residents based on a desired ratio of one physician, one nurse, one midwife, and one sanitary inspector for every 5000–10000 residents. In the early 1980s, there were 30 health centres within the city located in four health areas.

The delivery of health services in Cebu City is based on the Primary Health Care Program conceived by the Ministry of Health and implemented in 1980. This is an approach to health development in which the community defines its own health problems and needs and devises and carries out solutions in collaboration with the government and the private sector. Under this scheme, health outreach outposts covering 26–30 families each are set up, headed by a midwife, and assisted by a barangay health aide.

The nutrition program of Cebu City is part of the national program. Its objective is to improve the nutritional status of the populace, with emphasis on vulnerable population groups. Barangay nutrition committees were organized in all 79 barangays of Cebu City, but priority areas were those with more than 5.0% third-degree malnourished preschoolers. Within 4 years, the Cebu City Nutrition Committee was able to reduce the percentage of third-degree malnourished children from 4.8% to 1.4% in 1979. Similarly, the death of children under 6 years of age decreased from 40.6% to 33.5% in 1979.

Davao City Davao City is a prime city of Mindanao. Its population of 611311 (1980 census) is the second largest in the Philippines. The population of Davao City is expected to grow to 860000 by the year 2000.

There are eight districts within the city and a total of 157 barangays. Expansion of city activities is expected in the future with the development of the city port and increased development of agribusiness in Mindanao.

Like other cities, Davao City is run by a mayor and an administrative team. There are five main city departments involved in service delivery: city health department, medical centre, police department, fire department, and department of public services.

The Davao City Water District (DCWD) is responsible for the delivery of water service within the city. At present, DCWD services only 60.0% of the city (18000 households). Another program to deliver water is the Barangay Water

Program, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This program offers three levels of service: at point source, to communal or public faucets, and to individual households.

Electricity is provided by the Davao Light and Power Corporation. Although the service is efficient in Davao City, as indicated by a low level of blackouts, it may not reach many low-income residents because of its high cost.

Collection and disposal of garbage in Davao City are undertaken by the Department of Public Services through the Garbage Collection Section of the Refuse Control Division. Garbage collected from houses, garbage points, and public receptacles is disposed of in an open dump. Within the city, however, indiscriminate garbage disposal, e.g., in gutters, still takes place.

With the respect to police and protective services, the Davao Metropolitan District Command (METRODISCOM) is responsible for maintaining peace and order within the city and outlying areas. The Peace and Order Council in the city coordinates dialogues among different segments within the city. Defense units undertake civic action projects.

Fire protection is the responsibility of the Davao City Fire Department. There are six fire stations within the city.

Davao City has 18 main health centres located in the *poblacion* (centre of the city) and 27 primary health centres or barangay health stations. These centres are very much a part of the Primary Health Care Program launched by the Ministry of Health (MOH). Under this program, MOH trains barangay health workers. About 50 families are served by each barangay health worker.

Sites and Services and Community Upgrading Programs

Slum-improvement programs have been introduced within the Philippines under the National Housing Authority (NHA). The main program, the Slum Improvement and Resettlement (SIR) Program (or Zonal Improvement Program, ZIP, in Metro Manila), aims to upgrade or introduce, where there are none, basic community facilities and services, such as roads; footpaths; drainage, sewerage, and water and power systems; schools; barangay centres; community centres; and clinics. A complementary socioeconomic program for health, sanitation, nutrition, manpower training, family planning, and economic opportunities, such as employment, is also included. The NHA, in undertaking the lead role in this program, recognizes that land security and housing are very important needs and that the provision of basic facilities is also necessary for community improvement. Funding for the program has come from the World Bank and Philippine government.

In its major ZIP project in Tondo, Metro Manila, the NHA experience has included relocation of houses; provision of basic services, such as water and sewerage; and provision of pathways and roads. Significant in this attempt has been the effort to coordinate the provision of services from other government agencies, and the effort to involve communities in making decisions affecting the program. In Tondo, as in Leveriza, for example, the community is involved in matters such as the selection of residents to be affected by the program and in decisions regarding the location of pathways and communal facilities. NHA personnel in the field have slowly developed an ear for community consultation, if not full participation.

The Barangay It is important to mention the barangay structure in this study. Considered to be the grass-roots level of formal organization within the governmental structure, the barangay was made the lowest level of government by Presidential Decrees 144 and 159 issued in September 1972. A barangay is usually composed of about 100 families living in a contiguous area. There were 40000 barangays in the country in 1980.

A barangay is headed by an elected barangay captain. Assisting the barangay captain in the function of policy-making and coordination are a barangay council and a team called the Integrated Barangay Community and Service Brigade. These brigades are formed to provide mutual assistance during crisis situations; to provide community support in the delivery of certain services, such as peace and order through the barangay *tanod*; and to disseminate information from the government to the people.

A minimal amount of government funding is made available to communities through the barangay structure. This fund, which is a share of the 20% internal revenue tax collections allocated to the city government, becomes a source of power in the barangay. Barangays are also empowered to collect annual contributions for community projects, not exceeding PHP 500 (PHP 7.5 = USD 1), from the Barangay Development Fund.

Summary

The study of service delivery shows that the city or metropolitan commission plays a very important role in delivering basic services. Service, to a large extent, is delivered on a top-down basis. However, there are programs, such as the Slum Improvement and Resettlement Program started in 1977 and the Primary Health Care Program launched in 1980, that foster community involvement, i.e., in the identification of health needs or in decision-making regarding project procedures.

The supply side of service delivery shows that government capabilities and resources are generally inadequate to meet the needs of the present and future population. Different modes are used to deliver services: water services are supervised by a national agency, the Local Waterworks Utility Agency (LWUA), and administered through water districts established within cities; distribution of electricity is carried out through quasi-governmental agencies that are given franchises to operate; sanitation is the responsibility of government agencies or offices, such as the City Engineer's Office for drainage and flood control; garbage collection and disposal are supervised by city offices and the service may be subcontracted to private contractors; and health services are provided as a joint undertaking between the Ministry of Health and the City Health Service Offices.

Basic urban services delivery, at present, in low-income communities is being handled more and more through the NHA under its SIR or ZIP programs in coordination with city administration and the government ministries/agencies involved. What is needed are approaches that will allow community organizations to participate more meaningfully in these programs to ensure that the benefits will be maximized.

Participatory Urban Services Survey

The Communities: Physical Characteristics

Seven communities were chosen for this study. Essentially, they are target communities still to be upgraded under government programs of the National Housing Authority.

The physical characteristics of the area speak of the material welfare of the households. Houses, or *barong-barongs*, are generally made of light materials, such as wood, galvanized iron, nipa, and carton. Conditions are cramped, such that the houses seem to be huddled together providing support for each other, with a few catwalks and narrow alleys providing the only open space.

In some communities, the lack of basic services is obvious. The smell of wastes, piles of garbage, and queues of people waiting to get water from public faucets bombard the senses of the visitor. Evidence of the existence of services is also present, e.g., television antennae show that electrical services are available and health centres buzzing with activity indicate that health services have reached the community.

General Profile of the Respondents and Households

The majority of the 1197 respondents in the survey were females: 82.1% in Metro Manila, 86.6% in Cebu City, and 89.9% in Davao City. Of these female respondents, the majority were the spouses of the head of the household (90.0% in Metro Manila, 91.7% in Cebu City, and 96.6% in Davao City), the remainder being either single or widowed. As expected, the respondents were predominantly Catholic. There was a preponderance of middle-aged respondents (mean age 40 years).

With respect to the level of education attained, the respondents had a mean of 7.6 years of schooling, equivalent to the second year of high school. Respondents in Metro Manila had the most education (7.9 years or 2 years in high school), whereas respondents in Cebu City and Davao City had almost equal but slightly less education (7.5 years for Cebu and 7.4 years for Davao).

Correspondingly, most of the respondents were not gainfully employed because of their low level of education. The majority were housewives (66.7% in Metro Manila, 68.3% in Cebu City, and 83.0% in Davao City). In Metro Manila, apart from vending, washing clothes for others was the most common occupation of the respondents. Table 4 summarizes some background information on the respondents.

Analysis of Service Delivery

General Findings Survey results reveal that, in general, basic services in low-income urban areas are inadequate and constitute a serious problem in most, if not all, of the depressed sites studied. Safe water, for instance, is not readily available to every household. Only 16.7% of the households surveyed in seven communities have direct water lines (Table 5). This proportion is much smaller than the national proportion, which indicated that 50.0%, or half of the entire Philippine population, had direct access to water service in 1979 (NEDA 1981).

Because of this lack of a regular supply of water in their homes, the majority of households have to rely upon one or a combination of other sources of water. Public faucets and artesian wells are equally important sources of water for residents of the

Table 4. Background information on households surveyed.

	Metro Manila	Cebu City	Davao City	All cities
Average monthly household income	PHP 1392.59 (USD 167.78)	PHP 992.46 (USD 119.57)	PHP 1193.00 (USD 143.77)	PHP 1212.98 (USD 146.14)
Average per capita income	PHP 272.06 (USD 32.78)	PHP 199.76 (USD 24.07)	PHP 238.83 (USD 28.78)	PHP 240.36 (USD 28.96)
Average household size	5.9	5.8	5.8	5.8
Average number of productive household members	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.6
Unemployment rate	26.4%	26.3%	25.0%	26.1%
Average number of children	3.5	3.4	3.1	3.4
Average age of male household heads	40.6	43.2	40.2	41.4
Average age of female household heads	48.8	54.5	51.9	51.7
Average age of household heads	41.1	44.0	40.9	42.2

USD 1 = PHP 8.30.

low-income urban communities surveyed. A little more than one-quarter (25.7%) fetch their water from artesian wells, whereas slightly less than one quarter (24.2%) rely on public faucets for water. This condition has resulted in long queues of people awaiting their turn at either of these sources of water.

Some enterprising households that have access to water allow neighbouring households to fetch water from their house faucets. Although water obtained by this method is usually paid for, a considerable percentage (26.4%) of households resort to this method to ensure a safe and regular water supply.

Electrical service in low-income urban areas is better. A total of 78.4% of the households surveyed avail themselves of modern lighting through electricity (Table 6). This is a substantial increase over 1970 levels when only 60.0% of the urban population benefited from electrical services (Chander et al. 1979). Households that do not have access to electrical services turn to kerosene, wood, and charcoal as sources of power. Some households that have electricity use these materials as well to cut down on their power consumption and, consequently, on their electricity bills.

Table 5. Percentage distribution[a] of households by source of water in three Philippine cities.

Source of water	Metro Manila	Cebu City	Davao City	All cities
Piped directly into the house	15.2	20.3	14.5	16.7
Connected to the neighbour by hose	2.1	1.8	0.7	1.7
Public faucet	40.0	19.1	2.9	24.2
Artesian well	27.9	30.8	14.8	25.7
Water peddlers	17.1	2.6	15.1	11.8
Fetched from the neighbour	5.3	36.3	50.5	26.4
Open deep well	6.3	1.5	34.6	11.5
Rainwater	0.2	0.0	17.9	4.4
Dumoy	0.0	0.0	16.1	3.9
Spring	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1
No. of households surveyed	515	395	287	1197

[a] Percentages do not total 100% because some households have more than one source of water.

Table 6. Percentage distribution of households by source of electricity in three Philippine cities.

Source of electricity	Metro Manila	Cebu City	Davao City	All cities
MERALCO/VECO/Davao Light (with electric meter)	69.4	61.3	47.9	61.6
Connected to another household	23.0	5.7	21.0	16.8
No electricity	5.0	32.5	29.7	20.0
No response	2.5	0.5	1.4	1.6
No. of households surveyed	515	395	287	1197

Garbage disposal is a pressing issue. The government collection system and the dump trucks are unable to cope with the volume of garbage despite the acquisition of more dump trucks. Only 34.5% of the households surveyed dispose of their garbage in this manner (Table 7). As a result, more and more households (44.4%) have resorted to open dumping to rid their households, as well as their communities, of trash. The most common dumping areas are vacant lots, reclamation areas, highways, and bodies of stagnant water and *esteros* (canals). Such an alternative, however, is not without its share of drawbacks. Garbage clogs the *esteros* and underlying pipe structures installed for sewerage and drainage, thus causing floods, problems with water delivery, and other inconveniences. This practice also poses a health hazard to the people in the communities.

More sanitary and practical methods of garbage disposal are employed by 21.1% of the households surveyed — 18.5% burn their garbage, whereas 2.6% of households bury their garbage.

Hand in hand with the problem of garbage disposal is the problem of inadequate sanitation facilities to ensure proper waste disposal, which in turn would ensure better health. A significant number (22.2%) of the households surveyed have no private toilets. Some of these households use public toilets. The most common toilet is the hand-pour type, which was found in almost 50.0% of the households visited. This is a toilet system very much like the water-sealed flush toilet, which was present in only 11.1% of the households surveyed. The only difference is the absence of a flushing mechanism (used to flush away the contents of the bowl) in the hand-pour toilet and its presence in the water-sealed toilet. Both types are connected to a septic tank or other form of concrete depository. Another commonly used toilet is the open pit type (16.8%), consisting of a pit that may be entirely or partly open. The open pit toilet does not use water and is usually not connected to any depository structure. Wastes are thus channeled directly to bodies of water or *esteros* (canals).

Table 7. Percentage distribution of households by mode of garbage disposal in three Philippine cities.

Mode of garbage disposal	Metro Manila	Cebu City	Davao City	All cities
Dump truck	50.8	34.4	3.6	34.5
Open dumping	33.3	42.8	68.1	44.4
Burning	11.9	22.2	25.3	18.5
Burying underground	4.0	0.5	3.1	2.6
No. of households surveyed	427	360	225	1012

Fire and protective services in urban poor areas are rendered by three community groups apart from the city fire fighters and police force. A fire brigade, usually composed of members of the community, but not necessarily certified fire fighters, whose duty is to aid the city fire fighters, has been acknowledged as being available by less than half (42.0%) of the 1197 respondents. A percentage of this magnitude may be deemed to be relatively small. This may be a result of the fact that fires have scarcely, if ever, occurred in any of the surveyed communities. Thus, many of the respondents may not know of the existence of a fire brigade in their community. Another group is the community *ronda*. As the name implies, this group of volunteers is responsible for making the rounds in the community to ensure that everything is in order. The rounds are usually made from the later hours of the evening until the early hours of the morning. A greater percentage (55.9%) of respondents acknowledged this group. The third community group is the barangay *tanod*. Its members are usually appointed or handpicked by local barangay officials. However, some become members on a voluntary basis. The main objective of the group is to help maintain peace and order, as well as aid the two other groups in performing their duties during emergency situations, who reciprocate when the need arises. The barangay *tanod* was acknowledged by a significant number (90.2%) of respondents. In addition, studies concerning leadership, conducted in three of the seven communities, revealed one salient point, that the barangay *tanod* leader/member was mentioned by respondents as being the person they approached in cases of personal or group conflicts.

Availability of medical and maternal services is adequate to meet the needs of city slum dwellers. Hospitals and community health centres are the primary sources of medical service. This is indicated by the fact that three out of four households (74.6%) avail themselves of hospital services whenever a serious illness afflicts a household member. A considerable proportion of households (35.0%) avail themselves of the services of community health centres whenever a less serious illness afflicts a family member.

Only a few households (8.9%) seek the services of doctors in private clinics. This is probably because the urban poor cannot afford the fees involved. Thus, another alternative practiced by slum and squatter dwellers is home medication or self-medication. More than one-fifth (23.5%) employ this method, which is not very safe but involves the least cost.

Maternal care is generally available as indicated by the fact that most women (81.2%) in the slum and squatter areas surveyed see a doctor regularly during pregnancy. The frequency of consultation ranges from 1 to 10 times during the 9-month period. In addition, family planning methods have been widely acknowledged in local family planning clinics, with birth-control pills, intrauterine devices (IUDs), and condoms being the most popular. However, many households (51.9%) still do not use family planning methods nor recognize their importance. Hence, the slum and squatter population continues to grow, thereby aggravating the urban services problems. Children, in general (only 40.6% of the households surveyed indicated that they have children less than 5 years of age), receive nutritional care. This is usually in the form of nutribuns, corn, or milk, which they receive from various civic groups and religious congregations.

On the whole, the supply of basic services in depressed areas of the country is inadequate. Except for electrical services, which benefited a considerable number of households, the level of basic services needs to be upgraded. Delivery of medical

and health services appears to be better than that for other services. However, much can still be done to improve the delivery of such vital services because a significant number of the urban poor still resort to self-medication.

Although the above provides a clear picture of the status of basic services available to city slum dwellers at the national level, disparities in the levels of the services among cities are not indicated. To determine whether such disparities exist, a city-level description of the status of basic services is presented.

Status of Services at the Urban Centre Level Metro Manila: Water supplies in the urban poor areas of Metro Manila are inadequate. Only 15.2% of the households surveyed have water piped directly into their houses (Table 5). Thus, most households (40%) fetch water from public faucets and 27.9% turn to privately owned artesian wells for their water supplies. Metro Manila slum dwellers (17.1%) also obtain water from water peddlers. In 1980, water from a privately owned artesian well sold for PHP 0.10 – PHP 0.15 per container, whereas water delivered by peddlers was sold for PHP 1.00 per container (average capacity 7.3 gal (33.2 L)).

On the other hand, almost every household utilizes modern lighting through electricity (Table 6). Electricity is readily accessible to and is used by 92.4% of the households studied in Metro Manila, although some of these households (23.0%) are connected to their neighbour's meter. Only 5.0% of the households surveyed do not use electricity.

The garbage disposal system in Metro Manila is not as bad as is found at the national level. City dump trucks collect garbage from about half of the households surveyed. One-third of the households surveyed resort to open dumping of garbage along highways, on vacant lots, and in bodies of water. Very few households take the time to burn their trash (11.9%) or bury it (4.0%).

With regard to sanitation facilities, more than 80% of households have their own toilet, the predominant type being the hand-pour toilet (67.8%). Only 7.0% of households can afford the water-sealed flush toilet. Some households (18.9%) have no toilet facilities at all. These households resort to burning or burying their wastes, wrapping and disposing of them in dumping places or sometimes anywhere that is convenient.

Fire and protection services are a basic need in Metro Manila, being the centre of most commercial activities. Of the total number of respondents, 41.5% acknowledged the availability of a fire brigade in their community. A greater percentage (48.9%) indicated that there was a *ronda* available and an even greater percentage (91.1%) acknowledged the presence of a barangay *tanod* within the area. Judging from these data, therefore, one can say that provisions have been made for emergencies involving fires, floods, conflicts, etc., and that people are aware that such protective services exist within their communities to protect them and their properties.

Medical services are generally obtained by Metro Manila slum dwellers from hospitals when a serious illness occurs (64.5%) and health centres when the illness is less serious (47.2%). The services of doctors in private clinics are sought by a minority of households (12.6%) in the case of minor illnesses. However, 20.4% of households turn to private doctors when family members become seriously ill. Some households, to avoid medical fees, practice self-medication at home (17.1%).

Maternal health care is also available to women. Most female respondents (87.2%) had regular checkups with a doctor during pregnancy, ranging from 6 to 10 times. Female respondents also acknowledged the availability of family planning devices in local family planning clinics. The most widely acknowledged methods are birth-control pills, intrauterine devices (IUDs), and condoms. The majority of the female respondents (51.1%), however, are not practicing birth control. Children, although less than half (in only 40.9% of households), also receive health care. They receive nutritional supplements in the form of nutribuns, which are provided through the schools.

Cebu City: Water supplies are inadequate in the two areas surveyed in Cebu City. Only 20% of respondents have water piped directly into their houses. A total of 67.1% of households obtain water from artesian wells or from neighbours. Only a small number of households pay for water obtained from wells, whereas those obtaining water from neighbours pay an average monthly bill ranging from PHP 27.41 to PHP 38.50. A pail with a capacity of 5 gal (23 L) or less is the most frequent container used for fetching water. A public faucet is yet another source of water. The price of water is PHP 0.10 per 4 gal (18 L). The average amount of water fetched daily by a household is 28.8 gal (130.9 L).

As in Metro Manila, electricity is more accessible than water to Cebu City slum dwellers. However, in comparison with Metro Manila, fewer households (67.0%) avail themselves of electricity. Nearly one-third do not have access to power supplies (Table 6) for lighting, cooking, and other uses. Most of these households use wood for cooking, charcoal for ironing, and kerosene lamps for lighting.

Garbage collection in the areas surveyed in Cebu City is inadequate. Only 34.4% of the households surveyed have their trash collected by city government dump trucks. The frequency of collection varies from every day in one community to once a week in the other. Many of the slum dwellers (42.8%) resort to open dumping of their garbage; another 22.2% dispose of their garbage by burning it.

Sanitation facilities in the slum and squatter areas of Cebu City are inadequate. The problem is compounded by the fact that there are no public toilets available to service the needs of those people who have no toilets in their homes (12.4%). Moreover, 19.7% of households utilize the open pit as their toilet system, the crudest and most unsanitary of toilet systems. Only 14.8% of households have a water-sealed flush toilet. The predominant toilet type is the hand-pour toilet (53.7%).

Survey results revealed that only 34.2% of respondents claimed that a fire brigade was available within their community. Moreover, 55.4% acknowledged the availability of a *ronda* and 88.1% claimed the existence of a barangay *tanod*. Although these percentages are less (in two instances) than corresponding figures for Metro Manila, they still indicate the existence of community groups within Cebu City that render services to people in times of calamity and conflict.

Hospitals are the most important sources of medical service sought by Cebu City slum dwellers. A seriously ill household member is almost always taken to a hospital for treatment (85.5%). On the other hand, those who are not seriously ill are either taken to a health centre or a doctor at a private clinic. However, home medication is practiced more often than taking a less seriously ill person to a health centre or private clinic.

With respect to maternal health care, most female respondents (75.9%) have had regular checkups with a doctor during pregnancy (generally 6–10 times within the 9-month period). Women likewise acknowledge the availability of family planning devices from their family planning clinics. Still, however, the majority (51.6%) are presently not using any method of birth control. Regarding child health care, a small number of children (32.6% of the surveyed households) receive nutritional supplements, namely milk and corn, either through social workers or through members of religious congregations.

Davao City: Water supply problems are also prevalent in the two low-income areas surveyed in Davao City. Only 14.5% of the households surveyed have direct water lines. To alleviate this problem, residents resort to other sources of water. The most popular alternative, fetching water from neighbours, is practiced by 50.5% of households. Another important source of water is the open deep well from which 34.6% of the households surveyed obtain water. Apart from these sources, Davao City slum dwellers obtain water from artesian wells, water peddlers, rainwater, and the *dumoy*, a community about 10 km from the city proper with abundant water supplies. Only water fetched from neighbours or obtained from peddlers is paid for. For those fetching water from neighbours, the average monthly bill ranges from PHP 24.61 to PHP 42.10 for an average of 5.3–20.6 gal (24.1–93.6 L) of water daily.

With respect to electricity, 68.9% of the households surveyed have electricity. On the other hand, 29.7% of households surveyed in the two Davao City areas do not have access to power supplies.

In addition to water and power supply problems, another problem that is more critical in Davao City than in Cebu City or Metro Manila is that of garbage disposal. Garbage collection in the areas surveyed in Davao City is minimal, if it exists at all. This is indicated by the fact that only 3.6% of households avail themselves of the services provided by city government dump trucks for garbage disposal. Consequently, 68.1% of households dispose of their garbage by dumping it into open pits and on vacant lots. Others (25.3%) burn their trash.

The sanitation problem in the urban poor areas of Davao City is further compounded by inadequate toilet facilities, both in the households and in the communities surveyed. On the household level, 41.8% do not have toilets. Furthermore, although 33.4% have toilet facilities, they are unsanitary in nature (open pit system). A much smaller percentage of households (14.2%) have water-sealed flush toilets and 10.1% have the hand-pour type of toilet. At the community level, there may be accessible public toilets, but these are insufficient in number to cope with the sanitation needs of the people, as very few households acknowledged their availability and a minimal number of people interviewed claimed to have used them.

Fire and protective services in Davao City are similar to those available in the two other cities studied. In the Davao City study, 53.6% of respondents acknowledged the presence of a community fire brigade, 69% indicated the availability of a *ronda*, and 91.6% claimed that there was a barangay *tanod*.

The hospital and community health centre are the primary sources of medical care for Davao City slum residents. Findings indicate that people seek medical treatment for serious illnesses from the hospital (77.4%) and from health centres

(29.3%) for less serious illnesses. Community residents obtain immediate and proper treatment from these sources.

The women of Davao (77.7%), as in the other cities studied, had regular checkups by doctors during their period of pregnancy, with consultations ranging from 1 to 10 times during the 9-month period. Thus, the importance of prenatal care is well acknowledged in the area. Residents are also aware of family planning. The most common methods used are birth-control pills, intrauterine devices (IUDs), and condoms, which are all available from family planning clinics or from the health centre. Again, most couples (53.6%) are not using any of these family planning methods. Davao City children (47.9% of households said they have children) also receive nutritional supplements, particularly milk and corn, provided by members of religious congregations.

Summary: The state of basic services in the poor areas of Manila, Cebu, and Davao leaves a lot to be desired. Even electrical service, which is the most accessible of all basic services in the communities surveyed, still needs improvement to be able to serve those in the low-income communities of Cebu and Davao. Based on these studies, the most critical shortages occur in the areas of water supplies, sanitation facilities, and garbage disposal — services required to ensure the health of the people. Although not of the same magnitude, shortages also occur in fire and protective services, as well as the medical, maternal care, and health services.

Moreover, disparities exist in the levels of services among cities. Of the three cities studied, Davao City households have the fewest basic services. Households in Metro Manila fared best in terms of electricity and garbage disposal, whereas Cebu City households fared best in terms of water supplies and toilet facilities.

Self-Help and Community Leadership

In this study, it was hypothesized that the ability of a community to provide basic urban services through self-help depends upon the nature of community leadership. In the Philippines, low-income urban communities continue to have community organizations. The sense of community belonging is very strong. As pointed out by Jocano (1975) " . . . residents attach a high value to 'living together,' irrespective of the prevailing economic and social difficulties that characterize this togetherness."

There are both formal and informal organizations in the different communities. The formal organizations tend to be those organized around barangay functions. The barangay councils are operational. So are groups such as the integrated barangay community and service brigades and the Kabataang barangay. The integrated barangay community and services brigades are composed of two groups: community brigades — barangay *tanod*, traffic auxiliary, ladies' auxiliary, sports and volunteer brigades — and the service or disaster brigades, which assist during floods, fires, group conflicts, and other emergency situations. Ad hoc committees may also be formed by the barangay council. The Kabataang barangay is a youth arm of the barangay.

Informal organizations are those formed among the residents, usually for mutual assistance or self-help or for specific purposes such as holding fiestas. In Krus na Ligas, five such organizations were noted, with their objectives ranging

from securing land ownership to maintaining spiritual well-being. Often in the communities, there are informal groupings based on kinship and regional identity. Kinship is a factor to consider. In this study, two-thirds of the respondents have relatives living in the area.

The history of a community has considerable influence on its level of organization. In the case of Krus na Ligas, as in the case of Tondo, the historical struggle for land ownership/legitimacy binds people together to fight for a basic cause. This study will show whether the leadership structure within the community will make participatory management possible or whether the leadership is effective only when the community is organized to fight for a common cause.

Community Leadership Study

This study, conducted in three urban barangays, Krus na Ligas in Quezon City, Sambag Dos in Cebu City, and Agdao Creek in Davao City, involved two separate sets of interviews. The first set of interviews was aimed at selecting recognized leaders within the community by interviewing long-time residents of the barangays being studied. The second set of interviews, on the other hand, involved the recognized leaders themselves. The questionnaire solicited some background information about these leaders and their perceived roles, accomplishments, and future plans for their respective communities.

Profile of Respondents In Metro Manila, based on the sampling procedure described above, 46 names were mentioned. Of these, 19 individuals were chosen for analysis, the main criterion for selection being their having been mentioned by the informants at least six times.

In Cebu City, 40 long-time residents were interviewed in Sambag Dos. During these interviews, a total of 62 individuals were named. Sixteen of these people were considered for analysis based upon their names having been mentioned at least three times during the interviews.

The 43 long-time residents interviewed in Agdao Creek, Davao City, mentioned a total of 111 names. Of these, 13 individuals were selected for analysis, their names having been mentioned at least four times during the survey.

Congruence Between Formal and Informal Leaders The prominence of the barangay captain as a community leader was very evident in Krus na Ligas and Sambag Dos. Their help was sought during emergency situations and they were also the most frequently consulted leader for opinions or advice on community concerns. Furthermore, the barangay captain was considered by a majority of the long-time residents as embodying the qualities of a good leader. In both areas, the barangay captains were recognized as the most influential persons in their respective communities.

In Davao City, two prominent figureheads were recognized by long-time residents — *purok* leader E/chapel president and the barangay captain. Both were approached during all emergency situations as well as on all matters concerning community issues. Unlike in Metro Manila and Cebu City, however, *purok* leader E/chapel president was the person most frequently mentioned by long-time residents as being a good leader and the most influential person in the community.

One salient point common to all the sites studied is that most, if not all, of the identified leaders are barangay officials. Another point worthy of mention is that the more important barangay officials are most frequently mentioned.

Finally, it is interesting to note that those individuals cited as being good leaders possessed quality traits that matched respondents' concepts of what constitutes a good leader, i.e., a leader should be dependable and considerate, hard working, and able to communicate. In addition, a good leader was seen as a person who would respond to the needs of the community effectively and capably.

Profile of Identified Community Leaders The surveys revealed that the majority of the identified leaders in the three sites had similar socioeconomic backgrounds, perceived roles, accomplishments, and future plans for their respective communities.

In terms of the socioeconomic status of the leaders, it was established that the majority are married males. Similarly, most were over 40 years of age, implying that leadership is provided by the elders of the community. Findings also show that a great number of the leaders have been residents of their respective barangays for 30 years or more and during this time, presumably, have proved themselves as being responsible and capable citizens of the community. A majority of the identified leaders have had some form of formal education. In Krus na Ligas and Sambag Dos, the majority of the chosen leaders reached the college level, whereas only three in Agdao Creek achieved this level of education. Lastly, the leaders are engaged in various gainful occupations, although most earn only PHP 500 or less per month in Metro Manila and Cebu City. Half of the Davao City leaders, on the other hand, have a monthly income of more than PHP 1500.

Regarding the perceived roles of the leaders within the three sites, they reported that they see themselves as community, supportive, or task-oriented leaders. As community leaders, they see themselves as individuals who perform and fulfill the duties and obligations inherent in the elected or appointed positions they occupy. On the other hand, leaders who perceived their role as being supportive felt that their responsibilities were to extend financial support, provide incentives to different groups in the barangay, give additional assistance to other leaders of the community, and extend supplementary help to the people of the area. Leaders whose perceived role was that of a task-oriented one elaborated that their responsibility was to ensure that their activities benefit the community as a whole. Furthermore, these leaders directly organize and supervise affairs within the area and ensure, more or less, the success of such undertakings.

With respect to the accomplishments of the leader, infrastructure projects, such as construction of a health centre within the community, building better roads within the area, and acquiring a high school site, were seen as being significant projects. Other accomplishments were sociocultural in nature (i.e., town fiestas, sports activities, barangay contests) or included activities concerning cleanliness and beautification of the community and maintenance of peace and order. Lastly, some leaders were able to find solutions to particular problems plaguing their community. In Krus na Ligas, for example, the focus of concern was on drug addiction, malnutrition, and the issue of "land grabbing." In Agdao Creek, the achievements of the leader included maintaining peace and order in the area. Within all areas, unity and discipline among residents was a priority.

Finally, most leaders' future plans were geared toward the acquisition of land titles to ensure permanence of residence within the area, as well as increased infrastructure and community development. The emphasis on land ownership supports the results of other studies indicating that land security is a priority concern of

squatter families. Improvements in housing and community facilities are oftentimes dramatic once residents are assured of legal ownership.

Summary The community leadership study has shown that there is a match between the "natural and informal" community leaders and the "official leaders," i.e., the barangay officials. Based on the perceptions of these leaders and the perceptions of community residents, a hallmark of leaders is that they are ready to respond to community needs. Thus, there are great expectations that leaders will be sensitive to community values, conditions, and needs and that they will have the ability to seek solutions to problems that arise.

With good congruence between the formal and informal leaders within the community, participatory urban service management is possible.

Policy Implications for Basic Urban Service Delivery

The urban services under consideration are basic to the life and well-being of a population. Hence, it is important that communities have access to these amenities. Studies have shown, however, that government service delivery capability does not match the level of demand, especially in low-income communities. Strategies to improve availability, accessibility, and affordability have to be developed and institutionalized.

Integrated Service Delivery

The approach to community upgrading and sites and services labeled SIR and ZIP coordinates services for delivery to low-income communities. In these programs, the basic infrastructure for lighting, drainage/sewerage, and water is provided.

The approach has been effectively implemented in certain areas of the country. However, as it is a relatively expensive approach, it has not yet been expanded to include all low-income urban areas of the country. Sites such as those studied are areas that are still on the waiting list for ZIP or SIR projects. Many other areas have not yet even been considered for improvement.

Because the needs of communities encompass different basic services and because priorities are different, it is fortunate that the delivery of basic services is coordinated by national and city agencies.

Decentralization and Service Delivery

City and barangay structures are responsible to their constituents for the supply and maintenance of services. Thus, units should play a more active role in service delivery, i.e., responsibility should be vested in them and corresponding resources made available.

Community Involvement

Strategies to involve communities in service delivery have been used in certain government programs. The extent to which community participation is encouraged, however, has not been fully determined. In many speeches, the rhetoric calls for involvement, yet the strategies and options have not been worked out.

A program that sincerely aims to involve the community, not merely for consultation but for active participation, must evolve strategies for doing this.

Politics and Service Delivery

Provision of services is very much in the interest of local politicians who are out to earn votes. As such, emphasis will be on delivery of the service, on infrastructure or tangible projects, and on immediate delivery timed for maximum election impact.

This factor must be considered for programs at the community level. Negative effects should definitely be minimized, especially if they run counter to making services available on a sustained basis. That the formal community leader is, in effect, a local politician has both positive and negative implications. To lessen the political influence on urban service programs, education of community residents on the politics of urban service delivery, as well as on negotiation skills, should be carried out.

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Community Participation Model

Exaltacion Ramos and Ma. A.A. Roman

Basic urban services in the Philippines are inadequate to meet the needs of the population in low-income areas. This is evident from past studies undertaken at both the macro- and microlevel. It is apparent that the situation has not changed based on field observations and the recently conducted survey. Furthermore, the situation will continue unchanged in the future despite government agency efforts to improve the infrastructure and service delivery, as projected capabilities will not meet projected needs for services.

There is a need, therefore, to extend services through community participation strategies. Community involvement has been sought in the past through certain government projects. As well, the *ronda* is evidence that self-help strategies do exist. What is needed, therefore, is a model that will describe an approach to service delivery of a participatory nature. This should be considered not only as an option but also as a recommended approach in future plans for urban development.

Community, Government, and Participation

Community participation means readiness of both the government and the community to accept certain responsibilities and activities. It also means that the value of each group's contribution is seen, appreciated, and used. Mere tokenism or propaganda will not make participation meaningful. The honest inclusion of community representatives as "partners" in decision-making makes for successful community participation.

There are several factors to consider in making a community participation approach work: (1) motivation, (2) community leadership, (3) learning approach, and (4) resources for community development.

Motivation

Incentives for both parties to cooperate must exist if interaction and involvement are to be sustained. For a community, the interest is to solve local problems — problems that have been identified as affecting the community. It should be noted that the problems are usually localized. The survey indicated that communities have different levels of service accessibility. A big problem in one community, therefore, e.g., water shortage, may not be a problem in another. Community perceptions of problems may also differ depending upon the values of the residents. In the Development Academy of the Philippines study, for example, people from the lowest income level, class E, did not perceive garbage collection as being a

problem. Outsiders looking at slum and squatter communities, on the other hand, would probably rate garbage collection as a major problem. Thus, communities have their own perceptions of problems and methods of prioritizing them. Efforts to develop a community will be forthcoming if they are seen as helping to solve the community's problems.

For government agencies, the issue of self-interest must also be considered. Government agencies (or their officials) must value input from the community if programs are to be evolved using this approach. The benefit to the agency must be tangible, e.g., the National Housing Authority must be able to envisage a more efficient coverage of communities in terms of basic services using a participatory strategy; or the waterworks company should be able to achieve a higher collection rate or lower level of water loss as a result of illegal connections. Indicators used to measure the performance of agency personnel should also be reviewed and revised accordingly.

Community Leadership

The organization of a community must be considered if a community is to play a more participatory role. Definitely, a fragmented community will not be able to wield power or influence. The more organized the community, the better equipped it is for participating in development.

Leadership studies have shown that communities have many formal and informal organizations. Furthermore, the data indicate the existence of a leadership structure, with the barangay captain being the popular choice for an overall community leader, especially in the Metro Manila and Cebu sites. In Davao City, a section leader, who was also president of the church group, was as popular a choice as the barangay leader. During emergency situations and discussions of community issues, local physicians and army officials were also identified as leaders.

The popularity of the barangay captain and other barangay officials indicates their acceptance as community leaders by the residents and confirms the institutionalization of the barangay as a political unit. This means that urban slum and squatter communities can elect their informal leaders and have them recognized politically as barangay captains. That communities take the election of barangay officials seriously is indicated by the relatively high turnout of voters in these low-income areas compared with other urban areas.

Learning Approach

Community participation as an approach has not been institutionalized in any of the service delivery agencies mentioned. Some degree of citizen involvement is evident, some specific experiences are documented, and some lessons have been learned the hard way.

Initiating a new approach means that service agencies and the people involved must be willing to innovate and learn from experience. It means flexibility to try new activities and methods. It means initiating a feedback mechanism to ensure that both successes and mistakes are lessons to be learned.

Too often in the past, successes were played up by the agency, failures were written up by academic researchers, and little was fed back to the community. A

learning approach would attempt to provide feedback on experiences to all parties involved.

Resources

Communities have many needs and problems, but few options because of their limited access to funds. In many ways, their lack of resources and lack of skills to access the resources place them at a disadvantage.

For basic services to reach communities, there is a need for resources to develop an infrastructure and to acquire specialized skills. Electricity and sewerage, for example, require an infrastructure far beyond a community's reach. Protective and fire service delivery need special skills that community residents may not have.

There is a need, therefore, for external resources to be made available for community development. This can be complemented with community resources, especially manpower, which is usually in excess in low-income communities.

The Participatory Management Model

The participatory management model was conceived along the lines of establishing better collaboration and cooperation between the government and the community, especially through the awareness, organization, and mobilization of government and community resources. Private agencies may also be tapped to enhance the work of the two sectors and result in better service delivery. Discussion of the model will be divided into three parts: input, throughput or conversion, and output. Emphasis will be placed on the throughput, as the processes of the community management cycle occur in this portion. The input–throughput–output model (Havelock and Huberman 1977) is used to situate the system and emphasize the fact that it is a living and growing system in which the outputs are fed back to the community, which then initiates a series of activities beginning with the input portion.

Parts of the Model

Input

The environment at its broad (world and international) and specific (national and community) levels forms the input. The environment is composed of physical, economic, demographic, cultural, and political factors or conditions that generate needs, problems, and demands on an organized or unorganized basis. The environment provides the resources from which a community can draw inputs, such as infrastructure, human resources, and information.

International organizations and national governmental and nongovernmental agencies that are not directly related or may not have direct transactions with the community constitute "remote resources." Groups that are interfacing directly with the community, on the other hand, are "proximate resources." Examples include change agents or facilitators of progress; government agencies, such as the National Housing Authority, Ministry of Social Services and Development, and Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System; nongovernmental agencies in the community, such as civic organizations, religious groups, and industrial firms; and possi-

bly academic institutions near the community. These groups affect some aspects of the community and are usually linked directly with groups or resources in the area.

Input resources directly or indirectly receive messages from the community for assistance, which may be in the form of resources needed for information or infrastructure and technology. The various proximate and remote agencies can then assist the community in formulating action strategies that can be implemented to enhance the management of a community.

Inputs may be external or internal, as such resources may come from within or outside of the community. Specifically, inputs can come in the form of infrastructure for water and sewerage, provided by proximate resources, and personnel for fee collection and control, provided by the community.

Throughput or Conversion

This portion of the model focuses on the internal processes that a system undergoes to achieve completion or attain goals, especially when innovations are introduced into a community. Dynamic interaction of ideas, knowledge, services, and people occurs through the institutionalized structure or through the facilitation of the leaders of the community. The different members of the community — formal and informal leaders, community organizations, residents, and barangay council, which is the recognized authority in the community — interact with the change agents and work toward common goals, in this instance, to provide better services within the community.

The community is an open system. It is growing, continually interacting with outside change agents and groups, and constantly sending and receiving messages to and from outside resources. Community groups and outside resources, primarily government representatives (with or without nongovernment members), form the coordinative structure. If congruence exists between the informal leadership of the community and the formal leadership as recognized by government, this body will take on a leadership role in the coordinative structure.

In the long run, the coordinative structure will form the screening body or entry structure that takes in problems, needs, and demands of the internal environment and taps information/technology/resources from the outside world. In both instances, the structure functions as a receptor. It will convey information and transmit messages to and from the community and act as a catalyst for change.

The coordinative structure will also implement decisions, monitor activities evaluate outcomes, and transmit information back through the feedback process, thus acting as an effector. In this role, the coordinative structure ensures the attainment of goals, screens community outputs, and acts as initiator when it feeds information back to the receiving portion and triggers a new set of actions or policy decisions.

In both instances, the coordinative structure screens the inputs and outputs of the community. It stabilizes the community and expedites the flow of programs/projects. It enhances the feedback mechanism so that whenever feedback is negative, a modification or adjustment is initiated to increase the adaptive capability of the system. On the other hand, whenever feedback is positive, there is reinforcement and strengthening of the mechanisms.

Steps in the Community Management Cycle Management of the affairs of a community is a day-to-day, week-to-week, and month-to-month process, which in the long run will form a pattern or cycle. Various phases of the cycle can include the following activities.

Needs Felt/Planning: Members of the community feel a need to improve some aspects of the community; in particular, for the purposes of this study, improvements in the delivery of basic urban services. Through discussions with the barangay captain (generally the most recognized formal/informal leader), other community leaders, and residents, this need is diagnosed. Messages pertaining to this need are sent both internally and externally. Outside resources are tapped and, simultaneously, leaders and residents plan various ways of meeting the need.

Needs/Resources Assessment: Needs analysis and resources assessment are vital steps in the cycle. Data on what is needed and available within the community are imperative. Outside resources that are not present within the community are looked into.

Search for Information/Technology/Resources and Feedback: Internal resources (i.e., integrated barangay community and services brigades, barangay council, development council) and external sources (i.e., line agencies such as the Ministry of Human Settlements, Public Works, Health, Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System, Metro Manila Commission, etc.) may be tapped for information/technology/resources. Internally, the mechanism for solving the problem continues, while the search also goes to outside resources because a community is never self-sufficient in all aspects. After some time, information from outside is retrieved through feedback and merged with internal data.

Design Action Strategies: After the need is properly identified, and external and internal resources have been assessed, an action program can be designed. The community, through a group of leaders, residents, and government representatives, forms the coordinative structure, which will fully assess the situation, evaluate the resources, and, based upon the data, design action programs. These action strategies can be formulated initially as broad statements and then translated into specific and action-oriented steps. A conscious attempt to develop options to maximize community involvement in project implementation will be made.

Implementation: This phase involves programing the implementation of the action strategies by breaking down the strategy/program/project into various components, tasks, operations, and activities. The coordinative structure then directs the implementation of the project by assigning various tasks and activities to the responsible group within the community. It also solicits resources and allocates their use to each activity.

Monitoring and Evaluation: The performance of the various groups is monitored and project resources are allocated to ensure attainment of program/project goals. The coordinative structure oversees whether or not there is any deviation between performance and plans, and whether or not plans have to be revised to meet unexpected occurrences.

Evaluation should be an ongoing activity and is especially needed when the program/project has been implemented for some time. One should measure whether the project is meeting its objectives and, if not, why and where it failed. A good evaluation provides the implementors and change agents with information that can be vital for attaining the goals, and should include information on project processes.

Modification/Integration: As the program/project is implemented, monitored, and evaluated, the actual operation is compared with the theoretical plan so that gaps may be observed. After evaluation, the program/project is either modified or integrated into the operation of the community. Oftentimes, mutual adaptation occurs, i.e., the project is accepted by the community, with the community adapting as needed, and the innovation is also partly changed to adapt to the community.

All of these steps indicate the need for a strong group self-awareness and cohesiveness, and collaboration among all members of the group and with outside agencies.

Output

The main aim of the model is to provide access to services and to maintain them. As such, an immediate output could be in the form of a communal water system. The ultimate aim is to improve the well-being of low income urban community residents and extend the service coverage of government utilities and agencies.

Application of the Model

The model emphasizes the role of two main entities in participatory community management: the community and the government (Table 1). Certainly, there are many other agencies, organizations, and individuals that play a role in attending to community needs. In the model, these are the civic organizations, etc. However, these other entities may be looked at as being additional resources, the purpose of which is to provide inputs into a community whenever possible. Insofar as the management model is concerned, the constants in providing basic services to urban poor communities are the community and the government.

The participatory approach moves away from the service delivery model in which the government agency is the "benefactor" and the community the "recipient." In this model, the role of the community is strengthened such that community leaders are involved in planning and implementing projects to serve the community.

There is a need, therefore, to examine the conditions required to make the model work. Important considerations include the individuals and their orientation, as well as the structures and system that will motivate individuals in this effort as participatory management, by its very nature, implies collaborative effort, meetings of people, and consensus seeking.

The unit that has emerged from leadership studies as playing a major role, from a community point of view, is the barangay. It is a unit of the city, municipality, or municipal district in which it is situated. In other words, it is part of, not separate or independent from, the higher political/administrative units mentioned earlier. The barangay is a grass-roots political unit at the political level that exercises acts of government. The city, municipality, or municipal district may, therefore, exercise some of its functions through the barangay.

Furthermore, the barangay is endowed with powers and particular government functions, such as police power, which means the power of regulation (i.e., promulgation of ordinances and resolutions consistent with the law or municipal ordinances); power of eminent domain, which means the power to take private

property for public use (i.e., construction or maintenance, within its boundaries, of some public works, including roads, bridges, viaducts); the barangay may employ or contribute to the expense of employing a community development worker under

Table 1. Application of the participatory management model to basic urban services.

Service	Input		Throughput	Output
	Government	Community		
Water	Infrastructure Technology Skills	Labour Collection service Maintenance and repair	Joint management of the service: Planning decisions Inputs Infrastructure Labour Technology/ information Implementation Construction Training Monitoring and control Maintenance and repair Collection	Communal taps in strategic areas (well-maintained) System for collection of fees Control over use of water
Electricity	Rates held at a subsidized level for low-consumption users Infrastructure Technology	Maintenance and repair Ideas on alternative energy sources		Increased coverage Control over illegal use of electricity
Garbage collection and disposal	Dump trucks Better and wider roads Garbage dumps that are "safe"	Routing and scheduling of collection Setting up garbage collection points and guidelines for garbage disposal		Possible local enterprise in handling salvageable items from discarded material Safer environment
Sanitation	Infrastructure Technology Skills	Labour Maintenance and repair Informal meetings to promote hygiene practices		Communal toilets Better environment, hygiene, and health
Fire and protective services	Additional street lighting Training of selected community members Provision of some basic equipment (i.e., nightsticks, buckets) Fire drills and procedures	Barangay brigade Mutual assistance from strong kinship and neighbourhood ties		Neighbourhood peace and order Reduction of petty crimes and conflict Fire prevention and control
Health	Provision of hospitals or health centres, equipment, medical expertise, and supplies	Medical aides Labour to build and maintain facilities		Better health and hygiene of residents Basic medical training of some community members

the terms of agreement made with the Bureau of Community Development or with any other bureau or agency of the government; the barangay may provide for the organization of lectures, programs, or community assemblies to educate and enlighten residents on moral, civic, political, educational, and other matters of public interest.

Based on a historic community organization concept during pre-Hispanic times, the barangay has been recognized as the unit that can provide a strong linkage between the government and the people. In the communities studied, the barangay leaders are usually the community leaders. They provide feedback to the community/government regarding the people's needs and serve to disseminate information and catalyze community action for involvement in government programs/projects. In other places where the barangay captain may not be the recognized leader, the informal leader can work with barangay officials.

The study indicates that the leaders are sensitive to the needs of the residents not only during emergency situations but also when consulted about issues affecting the community. The leaders also plan projects for the betterment of the community, as revealed by their responses to interview questions, and cite as achievements actual implementation of these projects as well as activities, indicating that they have served as channels for the community to tap outside resources.

The main support from the government will thus be in the form of a government community representative. This representative should serve as a linkage between the community and the "world," a resource person/advisor, a channel for government programs/activities.

The liaison representative should be backed by a system that provides organizational and political support. This is necessary because as more and more communities start articulating their basic service needs, the competition for government resources will increase.

The government structure, therefore, should be such that it will allow flexibility for individual community priorities, allow a strong linkage and feedback system so that information on national government priorities/programs will be fed into the communities, provide personnel who will be motivated by the system to meet in committees with the community, and help find resources to enable communities to act and develop leadership capabilities.

As part of the city/metropolitan administration, a program to support community participation could serve in helping to build up local government capabilities and, hence, be part of the overall decentralization plan of the government. It will also mean that, more and more, national ministries that provide services on a sectoral basis should be guided in their planning by the needs of communities as articulated and prioritized by the barangay and local government units.

At the time of the study, it was apparent that the barangay was the organization from which leadership could emerge.

Participatory Urban Services

A precondition to participatory urban service delivery is the existence of community organization and leadership. This is needed because the community must be able to plan as a unit and set a common program of action. In the urban

communities studied, the barangay was seen as an effective operating unit with the barangay captain as the recognized leader.

The model describes the components and process for participatory community management. It indicates that a community would first have to take stock of itself before venturing into action programs. For example, in Leveriza, a meeting of community leaders was held in 1980 (Laquian et al. 1981). The community leaders proceeded to rank their problems as follows: (1) land ownership, (2) conflicts and lack of cooperation, (3) unemployment, (4) lack of sanitation facilities, (5) health, (6) insufficient water supplies, (7) insufficient pathways and alleys, (8) drug abuse, (9) lack of lighting facilities, and (10) lack of educational facilities. They also took stock of their respective resources and their experience in self-help and community action. The result was a series of basic urban service projects in which the community provided some inputs (such as land and labour), with additional resources coming from outside the community. The community also participated in decision-making, i.e., where to locate faucets, types of structures for communal toilets, types of livelihood projects, etc. The outputs were the services provided, such as communal faucets, expanded ready-to-eat services, and others. Intangible outputs included the experience gained in participatory decision-making, training in certain skills, and linkages developed with external groups.

Community meetings, with the help of outside facilitators, may be needed to enable communities to define their priorities and take stock of their resources, opportunities, and limitations.

It should be noted that in the communities studied, the level of organization was relatively good. Community residents and leaders were aware of their needs and prioritized them according to their own set of values. In these communities, therefore, what is needed is information on options and the provision of technology that will enable the communities, jointly with government, to seek solutions to their problems.

In the area of basic services, the participatory options could be presented. As these will require community effort and involvement, there is a need for agreement by everyone concerned that joint solutions are the answer to providing adequate service delivery in the future.

Water Service

Water service is a priority need of communities. What is needed is to make water available within close proximity of the users. Although piping water to individual houses may not be possible or practicable immediately, there is a need to improve water service delivery.

Inputs required from outside the community will include infrastructure and technology. In other words, government would have to supply the pipes and faucets. It would also have to supply the vertical management, e.g., for determining water rates and metering consumption. It would have to provide the technology as well, i.e., options that might be available to the community.

The community, on the other hand, can participate in many ways. Residents can help in the construction of the system (and hence also learn new skills). They can help in deciding where communal facilities should be located and be responsible for their maintenance, repair, and for the collection of service fees.

Thus, community participation can be substantial. A community organization responsible for maintenance/collection of service fees, for example, would mean a savings to the government agency. It may also mean increased efficiency. As pointed out in one Metro Manila study, ". . . some 55% of the water supply could not be charged to any user. Approximately 22% was unaccounted for because of defective equipment, illegal connections, and defective or non-existent water meters. Another 33%, though traceable to end users, could not be properly billed" (Chander et al. 1979). The study also pointed out that illegal connections are made to main pipes to avoid a lack of water as a result of low pressure.

The output expected using this participatory approach would benefit both government — improved service coverage, collection and maintenance, policing of illegal connections — and the community — through the skills learned, revenue collected for services, job creation, and better delivery of water service.

Electricity

The provision of this service has been singled out as being efficient, especially in the Metropolitan Manila area, where the service is handled by quasi-governmental franchise holders and rates are held at a subsidized level for low-consumption users. The result is satisfactory service for the urban poor.

Difficulties may occur in the future, however, as a result of soaring energy costs. If the costs for low-consumption users are raised, for example, low-income users would have to look for alternative sources of energy. Already, many households use electricity solely for lighting and use other resources, such as firewood or kerosene, for cooking. Present cooking fuels, however, are also becoming expensive. Alternatives, such as biogas digesters, should be studied for community usage.

Garbage Collection and Disposal

Garbage collection and disposal remain a pressing problem. It is possible, however, that the communities are not as concerned by the problem as are visitors to the community. It is important, therefore, to consider the issue from the point of view of community perceptions and values.

Garbage collection poses a problem because city dump trucks are inadequate to meet the needs of the community. Furthermore, roads within low-income communities are narrow and winding.

Community residents, therefore, can participate in tackling the problem by setting up collection points and setting up guidelines for garbage disposal. Enterprising community residents may take on work as garbage collectors for the right of "first picking."

In this instance, therefore, the community can establish a strategy for handling the garbage problem; work with the city agency to determine the inputs, such as routing and collection schedules; and set up garbage collection points and procedures for disposing of garbage. The outputs would be a more environmentally safe community and possibly establishing a local enterprise to handle salvageable items from discarded materials.

In the long run, it is hoped that the issue of cleanliness and proper garbage disposal will be inculcated in all community residents through formal and informal campaigns.

Sanitation

Toilet facilities and sewerage are seen as major problem areas within the communities studied, i.e., an infrastructure is required to improve sanitation services and sewerage systems have to be built in the barangays.

To accomplish this, the programs involved would be the Zonal Improvement Program (ZIP) and the Slum Improvement and Resettlement (SIR) offices, which include in their community upgrading and sites and services agendas the installation of sewage facilities. In building core houses, the sewage lines extend to the toilets provided for individual houses. Communities that do not yet avail themselves of these programs, however, can tap other city agencies — government or civic — to respond to their needs and supply the necessary inputs.

Communal toilets may be one method of solving the problem. The issue of maintenance and repair, however, is a very real problem in the area of sanitation as cleaning and repair must be carried out on a regular basis or the system easily deteriorates. This problem must be tackled by the barangay or committee designated. In some cases, mothers' groups have been designated to supervise the use of the toilets; nearby families have agreed to contribute money, on a monthly basis, to support a cleaning woman and to buy supplies; or communal toilets have been maintained by family groupings. Of the different strategies, the family base would probably be the most workable as toilets are for personal use. The extended family might be most motivated to look after the maintenance of toilets because in the communities studied it was noted that kinship ties are strong and lasting.

The outputs of the sanitation strategies, which should also include cleanliness and wastewater disposal, would include a cleaner environment and improved hygiene and health within the community.

Protective Services

Maintaining peace and order has been the area in which community participation has been most evident. Consistently, the barangay *tanod* was recognized as playing a leading role in providing this service. Also, the community *ronda* has been cited as a means of ensuring safety at night.

In the delivery of this service, therefore, community action has been readily forthcoming. Inputs from outside the community can be provided in terms of additional street lighting, training of selected community members, and some basic equipment, such as nightsticks.

In the area of fire protection, inputs from outside the community should include training of selected community residents, fire drills and procedures, and equipment, such as buckets. Inputs from the community will include the organization, under the barangay brigade, to act in terms of fire prevention, fire fighting, and rehabilitation after a fire.

For protective services, the community can be counted on to respond immediately. It is obviously in their best interest to do so. Aside from the formal barangay

structure, kinship and neighbourhood ties are strong; hence, mutual assistance can be counted upon.

Outputs expected from the provision of protective services include neighbourhood peace and order, a reduction in petty crimes and conflicts, and fire prevention and control.

Health

The primary health care program initiated by the Ministry of Health, in coordination with the metropolitan or city administration, provides an integrated approach to meeting the health needs and priorities of individual communities being served, as perceived by the community, and provides for the training of local residents to service simple health needs.

This program, therefore, which is already operational within some of the communities studied, should be encouraged. More participatory approaches can be introduced as the program evolves.

In terms of inputs, the hospitals or health centre, equipment, medical expertise, and medical supplies would have to be provided with resources from outside the community. Inputs from the community would be in the form of medical aides and labour to build and maintain facilities.

The community can determine priorities in terms of health needs. Information on health can be provided through censuses conducted by government extension workers within the community.

Outputs from the provision of health services would include improved health of the residents, basic medical training for some community members, and improved hygiene within the community.

Application of the Model to a Sample Community: Barangay Krus na Ligas

Background

Krus na Ligas is an urban community located in a hilly portion of Diliman, Quezon City, in Metro Manila. It is situated 3 km southeast of the campus of the University of the Philippines and has a total land area of approximately 9.2 ha. Middle-income housing subdivisions bound the community on the west, south, and southwest. On the southeast, the community is bounded by the Balara Filtration System operated by the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System. On the northeast, it is bounded by Loyola Heights, the site of the University of the Philippines and a few other colleges and universities.

With a population of 900 households, the barangay is a compact settlement subdivided conveniently into six groups or *purok*. The main road leading to the barangay is covered with asphalt and is accessible to all types of vehicles. The tricycle is the chief means of transportation from the community to the main thoroughfares. The side streets within the community are constructed of fixed materials such as asphalt, sand, and gravel.

Houses within the barangay generally fall into one of the following categories:

Strong: Made of cement, galvanized iron, wood, or mixed and in good condition.

Mixed 1: Made of cement, galvanized iron, wood, nipa, or mixed and in good condition.

Mixed 2: Made of cement, galvanized iron, wood, nipa, bamboo, or mixed and in bad condition.

Light 1: Made of nipa, bamboo, and other indigenous material and in good condition.

Light 2: Made of nipa, bamboo, and other indigenous material and in bad condition.

Most of the houses within the community come under the mixed 2 or light material categories. The houses constructed with strong and mixed materials are usually located along the main barangay road; those constructed with light materials or in the mixed 2 category are found within the inner portion of the barangay. The barangay has a plaza (or centre) where a chapel, basketball court, and stage are located. It also has a multipurpose hall that is often used as a day-care centre during the day and a location for holding barangay council meetings on some evenings.

Shoemaking was once the people's primary occupation. Because work in the shoe factories in Marikina (shoemaking centre in Metro Manila) was seasonal, the workers would turn to farming during the slack season as their secondary source of livelihood. At present, however, most household heads work in various private and public agencies. Some are employed by construction companies, others have their own businesses, such as tailoring, barber shops, and printing.

Women and older children help augment the family income by selling vegetables, fish, and other basic commodities in the *talipapa* (small market) located near the plaza or peddling them in neighbouring areas. Some also work as laundry women for students and faculty members at the University of the Philippines.

As a political entity, Krus na Ligas was formerly under the jurisdiction of the Municipality of Marikina. With the creation of Quezon City as a chartered city, some of the territories of Marikina, especially on its western boundary, were transferred to Quezon City. Thus, through legislation, Krus na Ligas became a part of the city.

Problems with respect to land ownership have always been part and parcel of the people's way of life. Problems began during the early 1900s when the government urged people in the country to register their land so that it could be taxed. The barrio people did not respond to the order on the grounds that their forebearers had handed down the land to them.

Trouble began in 1914 when the Tuazon family claimed ownership of the land that included Krus na Ligas and extracted rent from the people. During the 1930s, the Tuazon family sold the land to the government and in 1949 the government gave 450 ha to the University of the Philippines. In the same year, the legal battle between the university and the people in the barangay started, which eventually reached the higher courts.

In 1962, former barangay captain Amado Baluyot presented a petition, on behalf of the people, to then University of the Philippines President Carlos P.

Romulo to allow them to live permanently on the site that they were currently occupying. Carlos P. Romulo agreed on the condition that they would pay taxes and rent to the university. Another petition followed, requesting that land be granted to persons aged 25 years and over, with a family. However, this was not granted. In 1970, Congressman San Juan interceded with the government, on behalf of the people, for their right to the 9.2 ha. This, however, was not resolved.

In 1974, houses in Libis and Manggahan, both part of Krus na Ligas, were demolished to pave the way for the Magiting road, which would lead to the proposed buildings of the Philippine Medical Centre Complex and Camp Datuin of the Metropolitan Command (METROCOM). The so-called squatters were resettled in various government resettlement sites, whereas the legitimate dwellers were transferred to the barrio proper. The METROCOM was engaged to maintain peace and order.

Demolition continued in 1974 to make way for the construction of the low-cost housing project of the University of the Philippines. This time, barangay leaders presented a resolution requesting the university, through its President, Salvador P. Lopez, to grant them the 9.2 ha. However, Salvador Lopez denied the request because the Department of National Defense had already decided that the land was needed for its development plans.

In 1977, the Ministry of Human Settlements, under the leadership of the First Lady, included Krus na Ligas in the zonal improvement program under the University of the Philippines, National Housing Authority, and Quezon City government. Registration of the lands was hastened to fulfill what had been promised to the sellers. The houses of those who did not register were demolished. According to the Quezon City Planning Office, demolition was carried out to fulfill the authorities' promise and to arrange for proper partitioning of the land. At present, the barangay has not received any progress report regarding the status of land titles.

Formal and Informal Barangay Organizations

Formal Organizations

Formal organizations within the barangay are created to fulfill specific goals and carry out specific tasks that are clearly related to the total organizational mission. They may be of two types: a permanent organization, which is the barangay council, and temporary formal groups, such as the integrated community and service brigades and the development council. Temporary formal groups are committees or task forces created to carry out a particular job. Once the job has been completed, these groups may cease to exist unless other tasks are found for them to perform.

Barangay Council This is composed of the barangay captain, secretary, and treasurer. There are also six council members, each responsible for the area or *purok* to which they belong. In turn, the council members also have members within their respective areas. The barangay council is considered to be the most influential or powerful organization within the barangay.

Meetings are supposed to be held on the 15th or 30th of the month. However, the schedule is not usually followed unless the situation calls for it, i.e., unless the community wishes to decide on or propose projects. The constituents of the

assembly channel their suggestions or grievances either directly to the barangay captain or indirectly through the person in charge of the area.

Lupong Tagapayapa This consists of the barangay captain and the six council members and other long-time residents of the barangay. It plays an active role in maintaining peace, harmony, and understanding within the barangay. Its main function is to act as a mediator whenever group or personal conflicts occur. Aside from this, it ensures that the people abide by the regulations and resolutions issued by the council.

Development Council This is a temporary formal organization created to enhance and implement community projects for the welfare of the community. This group works together with the integrated barangay community and service brigades. It is this group that mobilizes the people and creates committees during the annual fiesta.

Council for the Protection of Children This group's aim is to promote the welfare and well-being of the children within the barangay. It was established in connection with the "Year of the Child" and has been a special committee of the barangay council.

Kabataang Barangay In line with the government's concern for youths, the Kabataang barangay in Krus na Ligas also plays an active part in promoting and assisting not only the council but also other groups with projects in the barangay. Aside from this role, it organizes a yearly sports event in the barangay. Meetings are held once a month and whenever the need arises.

Integrated Barangay Community and Service Brigades Like any other formal organization, this group has a complete set of officers, a coordinator, and an adviser. It is also divided into two groups: community brigades (barangay *tanod*, traffic auxiliary, ladies auxiliary, sports and volunteer brigades) and disaster brigades, which assist during emergency situations, such as floods, fires, and group conflicts. On the other hand, this organization caters to the service requirements of the barangay, assisting in matters concerned with the ecology, water, shelter, clothing and cottage industries, medical aspects, economics, education, technology, power, food distribution, agriculture, and price control.

Members of formal organizations are generally long-time residents belonging to the age bracket of 45 years and over and all are, in a way, related to each other.

Informal Organizations

The informal groups found within the barangay include the following:

Samahang Magkakapitbahay This group was established by the people living in *purok* VI A to help each other in times of need and during fiesta time.

D'Originals This group consists of "old timers," as they call themselves and natives of the barangay. There are 34 members in the group, whose main objective is to fight for members' land ownership or retrieve members' land from the University of the Philippines. Members of this group are also members of the barangay council and some are past leaders.

Samahang Siete This is a civic organization made up of 40 members, whose aim is the same as that of the D'Originals. Its members, however, are of various ages, and duration of residency within the barangay does not affect membership.

Cursillo Movement This is a religious group concerned with the spiritual well-being of the community. Members are predominantly middle-aged couples and older residents.

Cruzians This is a group of working men, whose usual activity after office hours is to drink and discuss the current state of affairs within the barangay and throughout the nation as well.

In addition to these informal groups, regional groupings also exist, such as those for the Bicolanos, Ilocanos, Ilonggos, and Kapampangans.

How the Model can be Applied to Krus na Ligas

Krus na Ligas is a relatively cohesive community, with the barangay captain being recognized as the formal and informal leader. There are formal organizational structures to which issues and concerns faced by the community, such as water services, floods, fires, and livelihood, can be addressed. The community has mobilized people in the past, through these formal organizations and through informal groups, to help during both emergencies and celebrations, such as fiestas. Because of land tenure problems, people seem more inclined to take an active, rather than passive, role in community affairs.

Introduction of the participatory management model concepts into this community, therefore, will not pose a problem if community leaders are oriented toward working with the government. Features of the model, as they apply to the basic services, will be discussed in the sections that follow. A brief background of the status of the services is presented first. Community organizations and governmental and nongovernmental agencies referred to in the different services will all be functioning through the planning council or the coordinative structure.

Water

In Krus na Ligas, the community has communal faucets strategically situated in each block. A common sight at these public faucets is people with their pails waiting for their turn at the faucet, children taking a bath, and women washing their laundry. The community has an open drainage system where the wastewater flows.

Groups tapped to plan for better water service delivery include mothers, informal leaders, and youth groups. External groups, such as civic agencies/ academic groups, that have done work for the community on a long-term basis can also be considered as part of this body.

In Krus na Ligas, the integrated barangay community and service brigades would be appropriate members for the planning council because members of these brigades are sensitive to the needs of the community. One barangay service brigade is the barangay water brigade, which assists community residents with their water problems. Because the barangay water brigade is a formal organization, and is linked with an umbrella organization, it could easily communicate the problems of the community to the formal political leaders.

With respect to water problems, the relevant agencies, aside from the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS), include the Metropolitan Manila Commission (MMC) and the Ministry of Public Works and Highways

(MPWH). The planning council conveys to the government the magnitude and urgency of the problem and at the same time taps the community for assistance.

To make the water service accessible to the community may involve setting up more community taps, instead of individual household connections. Collection of charges (if any) and maintenance of the faucets and pipes may pose some problems. The planning board or council sets up the mechanism for collecting fees and maintaining equipment. The actual procedure can then be handled through the water brigade.

The government, through MWSS, MMC, MPWH, and other supporting agencies, has to provide the funds, equipment, and technology for community taps, whereas the community takes care of the labour requirements and management of the project. Structural, as well as behavioural, changes within the bureaucracy are required for this kind of enterprise. Structural change would ensure that resources will be available from the government for materials and supplies, and that a technician must be available to help supervise construction and provide information on maintenance. Behavioural change would mean that government officers or extension workers involved would participate in community decisions, i.e., in considering the best place to locate taps, and be willing to work with the community in implementing decisions.

On the part of the community, residents would be mobilized to construct and maintain the service. This would be a function of the barangay water brigade, with the assistance of the development council and informal groups, such as the *samahang magkakapitbahay*.

Electricity

In the past, gas lamps, or *bototoy*, were used by households. At present, electric lamps are commonly seen within the community. Most households derive their electricity from Manila Electric Company (MERALCO). Most households in Krus na Ligas (84.0%) have electricity, with their own electricity meters. Only 5.2% of the households do not have electricity. It appears, therefore, that electric power is one basic service that is adequately delivered to this community. Even with the favourable status of the electric service, the community has a barangay power brigade that assists in matters related to electricity. This group should begin discussions on alternative energy options to meet lighting and cooking needs.

Garbage Collection and Disposal

Basically, every house within the barangay has clean surroundings. Garbage is burned either during the morning or the late afternoon, usually within the family's own backyard. Upon entering the community, however, one can see uncollected garbage along sidewalks and swarms of big flies. As well, stray animals roam in the vicinity and children play barefooted in the streets.

There is no barangay service brigade in Krus na Ligas that focuses on issues of cleanliness or garbage collection. Groups that could be tapped concerning such matters include the development council, mothers' groups, neighbourhood groups in the affected areas, or the Kabataang barangay (a youth group). Another group that was effective in discussing issues of this nature in the past was the Parent–Teacher Association (PTA).

In the case of Krus na Ligas, solutions to the problem of garbage collection and disposal are planned by representatives of the barangay council, representatives of the development council, and the integrated barangay community and service brigades, together with officials from the Metro Manila Refuse and Sanitation Commission. The magnitude of the problem and the need for more frequent garbage collection (at present, collection takes place three times a week) are discussed. Collection points can be determined by the community to facilitate efficient garbage collection.

Cleanliness projects can be assigned to committees or groups set up on a neighbourhood or block basis. As the benefit from cleanliness campaigns goes directly to the residents in the affected areas, responsibility for maintaining the drive is given to these smaller community groups. Because there is no particular service brigade that looks after garbage disposal for the whole community, the council should organize one, so that unsanitary conditions in the dumping areas, such as that which occurs at the entrance to the community, are tackled promptly.

Sanitation (Drainage and Sewerage)

In Krus na Ligas, the sewerage and drainage situation is bad. There is no sewerage system; consequently, the community improvised an open drainage system, which emits a foul odour. Moreover, the open canal is a health hazard requiring immediate attention because the waste flows into these open canals.

Inasmuch as the problem of sanitation is closely related to garbage collection and disposal, the same organizations would be tapped for assistance. They should collect more information about the location of clogged *esteros* and storm drains, incidence of flooding, number of families affected, and consequences of poor drainage. The information would then be transmitted to the appropriate government agencies, as well as to the political leaders (both formal and informal) of the community.

Government agencies that could lend their expertise in this area include the Ministry of Public Works and the Metro Manila Commission. The barangay council should meet with representatives of the government on this matter to solve the sewerage problem.

Using the participatory model, the output decisions involving the community may include: (1) cleaning up the *esteros*, (2) cleaning up manholes, and (3) digging ditches. The government could supply the tools and other necessary equipment, whereas the community could provide the labour.

Fire and Protective Services

It is in the area of fire and protective services that the community is most involved. Krus na Ligas has a barangay *tanod*, barangay disaster brigade, and barangay volunteer brigade that act in times of emergencies and calamities. A formal organization, the *lupong tagapayapa*, maintains peace and security within the area. It should be noted that in Krus na Ligas, as in other communities, the barangay *tanod* is well recognized. Government agencies, however, could provide training and some supplies, such as nightsticks, to designated members of the community.

Medical, Maternal, and Child Health Services

Survey data indicate that a person is taken to the hospital when they are seriously ill. However, home medication and treatment at the health centre are frequently used alternatives. Krus na Ligas has a health centre located in the barangay plaza that is staffed with a medical team composed of a physician, a dentist, a nurse, a midwife, a population officer, a nutritionist, and day-care teachers. The team is available for consultation and treatment from Monday to Friday. In addition to general health services, the health centre provides the following services: maternal and child care, communicable diseases control, environmental sanitation, immunization, and family planning. These services are provided free of charge.

In line with the nutrition campaign of the First Lady, a nutrition program has been launched. Operation *timbang*, for preschoolers, renders assistance in weighing children and providing food and medical assistance on a *purok* basis. The day-care centre is sometimes used for presenting audiovisuals on health and nutrition.

In the area of health, the people in Krus na Ligas look to the medical team, particularly the doctor, for leadership. Effective participants, therefore, could be the medical team in the health centre, barangay medical brigade, the council for the protection of children, and women's auxiliary groups. They could alert themselves to health problems, whether the problem is related to the health of the residents, the availability of supplies and medicines for the health centre, malnutrition, or even health problems associated with sanitation. If health programs involving the community are launched, a barangay representative should be sent for training. Community health problems, furthermore, should be prioritized and addressed.

Representatives of the community, the medical team, and government agencies such as the Metropolitan Manila Commission and Ministry of Health should design strategies to ensure that the health of residents is maintained and even improved. Health surveys on the community undertaken by outside groups should be evaluated carefully and the results fed into the coordinative structure for solutions to be designed and implemented.

The main participants would be the health team, with the cooperation of the residents, e.g., campaigns to reduce malnutrition by emphasizing the need to grow vegetables in neighbourhood plots would mainly involve neighbourhood associations and youth groups. Planting materials and technologies tapped from outside agencies may be solicited to help the residents.

Toward Community Participation in Urban Service Delivery: Policy Implications

Community participation is easily summarized as being a desirable approach; however, the approach is not as easily implemented. For government bureaucracies, the familiar path is straight service delivery, with community residents as clients or beneficiaries, not as partners in service management. For community residents, the pattern has been one of dependency on or militancy toward self-help approaches used in cases of protection, disaster relief, clan events, or community activities such as fiestas and sports events. There are several policy implications, therefore, to be considered in adopting community participation as an approach.

Role of Government Entities

Government agencies involved in coordination with city/National Housing Authority coordinators need to rethink their roles as they relate to urban service delivery. Strategies and technologies that will require more involvement on the part of community residents, for example, should be explored.

The implication is that appropriate technology that may not be ideal or attractive may be more desirable because it can be used for a wider population group. Another implication is that community needs may be stronger for some communities than for others, with priorities not matching those of the government entities.

Decentralization of service delivery functions to levels close to the community should be carried out in coordination with city offices. Indicators of success should be established to stress community participation and service coverage. Performance standards for personnel should also be revised to include incentives to work with the community.

Role of Community Leadership

The barangay structure should be supported and leadership kept on an elected basis. This ensures that the leadership will remain responsive to community needs and answerable to the constituents.

Reorientation and Training

Developing structures and systems is important, but they must be supported by reorientation of the persons involved in the development effort. Much has been said about dependency, i.e., dependency of the people on the government for service. The survey indicates that, to a certain extent, this is correct; however, it also indicates that numerous strategies to gain access to services — from community action to individual enterprise — have resulted.

What is needed is reorientation of community leaders and bureaucrats toward joint/participatory planning and action. In other words, there should be some recognition that government cannot provide all services to all communities. Therefore, a method of setting targets and identifying areas for cooperative action is needed, to be followed by mobilizing a joint effort. This is something that will take time, especially for the required trust to build up.

Joint orientation and training workshops should, therefore, be held periodically to develop skills, open lines of communication, and identify problems/opportunities. This is an area where academic or research institutions can play a major role. Even in this area, however, an attempt should be made to transfer technology so that, eventually, communities will serve as models for other communities. In this way, building support for and reorienting participatory community management should be an effective and self-sustaining effort.

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Young Workers and Urban Services in Penang

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The Malaysian case study on participatory urban services focuses on the provision of services for young workers. This and the following chapter depart radically from the other studies in that they focus upon a problem that is well researched with respect to the history of developed countries; namely, provision of services for workers employed during periods of rapid urbanization and industrialization. In the developing countries, this is a very recent phenomenon that is concentrated in only a few countries, such as the Republic of South Korea and Malaysia.

This group of workers emerged over the last decade as a result of rapid urbanization and industrialization in Penang and other major urban centres in Peninsular Malaysia where free trade zones (FTZs) were created. The study is based upon surveys of workers, companies, governmental bodies, and nongovernmental organizations in the Penang area that may have programs, facilities, and other services that are directed toward this group of workers, either directly or indirectly. The final objective of this study was to identify gaps in, as well as assess the viability of, existing programs and activities in terms of their meeting the needs and problems of young workers in the corporate sector and, in contrast, those in the informal sector. In this way, the role of participatory urban services in its proper social context can be established. The Malaysian case involves evaluation of a worker-oriented education project that incorporates various elements constituting a viable model of participatory urban services.

Industrialization and Labour Force Formation in Penang, 1970–1982

The last 10 years in Malaysia has seen dramatic changes in the structure of its labour force as a consequence of rapid industrialization. This has been the result of two forces. First, there has been a reassertion of the role of the state in the national economy in the form of the New Economic Policy (NEP), 1970–1990, which aims to eradicate poverty, irrespective of race, and restructure society so that there is no ethnic identification with occupation and location (Malaysia 1981). This has been implemented through planned intervention by the state in a number of areas, including industrialization policies aimed at promoting export-oriented, labour-intensive manufacturing. Second, there has been a redeployment of manufacturing industries from the core to the periphery of the world economy as part of the internationalization of productive activity and the new global division of labour that emerged in the mid-1960s and 1970s. The growth of these offshore activities of

Table 1. Number of factories and people employed in free trade zones, 1971–1981.

Year	No. of factories in operation	Percentage change	No. employed	Percentage change
1971	36		4500	
1972	50	28.0	9877	54.4
1973	74	32.4	23359	57.7
1974	91	18.7	27278	14.4
1975	108	15.7	31887	14.5
1976	181	40.3	39269	18.8
1977	167	8.4	40775	3.7
1978	183	8.7	45605	10.6
1979	190	3.7	51261	11.0
1980	208	8.7	55064	6.9
1981	218	4.6	55679	1.1

Source: Penang Development Corporation (1974, 1975, 1981).

transnational corporations (TNCs) is based on the exploitation of cheap labour, which is predominantly female. The combined implications of these two forces reflect the articulation of internal and external forces and emerge as contradictions in the development of Malaysian society. In addition, the new international division of labour coincided with certain demographic conditions in the periphery, the most important being the emergence of a vast number of young people entering the labour market. They are the product of previous decades of high fertility and unprecedented declines in mortality owing to the health revolution in Third World countries.

The impact of this industrialization strategy on the growth of Penang's economy has been tremendous. The most immediate effect pertained to the number of factories in operation in the industrial estates and free trade zones (Fig. 1). The first two of eight free trade zones in Malaysia were gazetted in Penang in 1972. A total of five industrial estates, covering 375.7 ha, was created by 1981. The number of factories grew from 36 in 1971 to 218 in 1981; employment figures increased from 4500 to 55679 over the same period (Table 1). The impact of the world economy, in the form of recession, is clear from the low percentage changes in number of factories and number employed in 1976/1977 and 1980/1981; nonetheless, the growth of investment, in terms of the number of factories, is evident. In terms of paid-up capital, the amount increased from MYR 13.48 million in 1972 to MYR 301 million in 1976 and MYR 756.1 million in 1981.[1] Twenty-one additional factories were under construction then, with another MYR 156.8 million in paid-up capital and the potential to create 1706 jobs. Another 81 new factories had been approved, with total paid-up capital of MYR 246.9 million and the possibility of 7878 jobs. It was expected that more than MYR 1.1 billion in total paid-up capital would have been invested in Penang over the 1971–1981 period, with the creation of 75459 actual and potential jobs.[2]

This industrial development resulted in rapid urbanization, centred around the main conurbation of Georgetown and Butterworth and spreading toward new townships along the eastern coast of the island. Previously an area of net outmigration as a result of a stagnating economy before the 1970s, the industrialization that has taken place since has transformed Penang into the second most important

[1] Malaysian ringgit (MYR) 2.20 = United States dollar (USD) 1.

[2] All of the investment figures cited are drawn from the Penang Development Corporation Annual Report, 1981. Other sources of data are cited under the appropriate table.

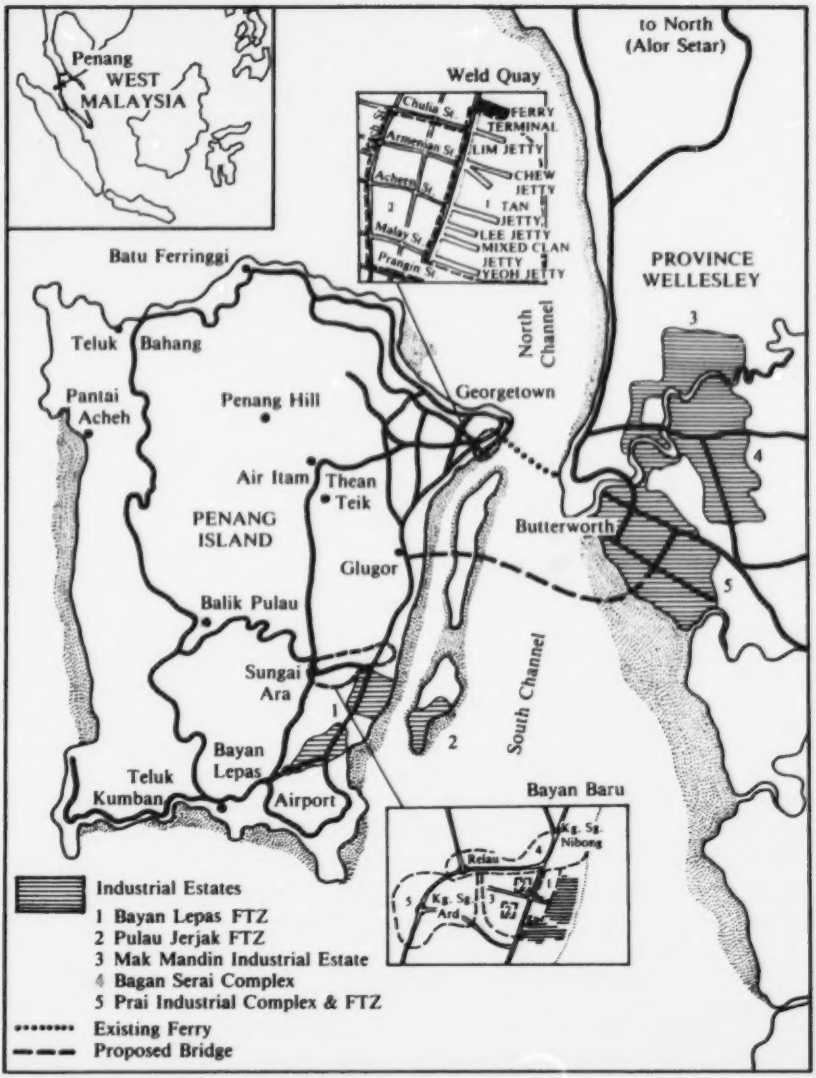

Fig. 1. Location of study area, Weld Quay and Bayan Baru.

metropolitan centre after the Klang Valley, which incorporates the federal capital of Kuala Lumpur.

The overall economic structure of Penang has also changed dramatically. The agriculture, forestry, and fishing sectors have declined from 14.6% of the gross domestic product in 1971 to 5.5% in 1981, with an expected decrease to 4.1% in 1985. In contrast, the manufacturing sector recorded an increase from 21% in 1971 (reflecting a preexisting industrial work force in the import-substitution and small-scale sector) to 38.2% in 1981.

In demographic terms, these structural changes produced significant changes in some of the usual indicators. After 30 years as an out-migration state, Penang, by 1980, had become a net gain region. Consequently, the age structure shifted to a predominance of people in the 20–35 years age-group and a sex ratio that favoured females as a result of the influx of female workers from rural areas. The labour force participation rate increased from 35% in 1970 to 49.6% in 1980. Unemployment, on the other hand, was reduced from 14 to 5.5%.

Table 2 presents the employment characteristics by industry in the FTZs at the end of 1982. Several points should be highlighted here. In terms of paid-up capital, nearly one-third of the investment is in the textiles/garments industry (31.3%), followed by electronics (8.5%), industrial gases (8.4%), and metal products (8.4%). In terms of employment, however, the electronics industry constitutes nearly half of the jobs created (47%), followed by textiles/garments (24%), machinery/motor and bicycle parts (5.0%), and rubber-based industries (3.9%).

Three important features of the labour force should be emphasized. One is the sex bias toward female workers, where the overall ratio is almost 2:1. The predominance of females is a result of the fact that the electronics/electrical and textile/garment industries employ a disproportionately large number of females (78.1 and 65.1% respectively). This pattern is typical of such industries in other countries as well.

The second important feature is the ethnic background of the workers in the FTZs, with 46% being *bumiputras* (indigenous people). The importance of this fact becomes clearer if set against the fact that urban Penang is overwhelmingly Chinese. The major source of the *bumiputra* work force in the FTZs is from rural–urban migration, consisting mainly of young females, who have left school, from the neighbouring states of Kedah and Perak.

A third aspect of the new labour force is that nearly half of the factory workers are in the skilled or semiskilled labour category. These workers, however, are not equally distributed between different industries. For example, the percentage of unskilled labour in the total work force for rubber-based industries is 54.1%, whereas for the electronics/electrical industry it is 20.1% and for textiles 15.8%.

The Research Question

The basic focus of research on participatory urban services in the case of Malaysia is on the consequences of the emergence of the new labour force resulting from a massive exodus of young female school dropouts from the rural areas and corresponding influx in urban areas. The impact of this development has led to a contradictory phenomenon: while it has contributed to a radical transformation of the Penang economy over the past 10 years, it has also created a significant youthful work force in the new zones (the formal sector), which contrasts with the effect on the corresponding labour segment in the "traditional" informal sector, which in the past has been largely Chinese.

The identification of these two segments of the youthful labour force reflects the pattern of uneven development in Malaysia, and the basic differentiations produced by the particular urban-industrialization process taking place in Penang. Information concerning the labour force formation processes taking place within the highly dynamic context of Penang's economy is still limited. The focus in this

Table 2. Employment characteristics by industry in free trade zones, December 1982.

Type of industry	Number of factories	Paid-up capital (million MYR)	Ethnicity			Sex		Category of employment of factory workers			Total
			Expatriate	*Bumiputras*	Non-*Bumiputras*	Male	Female	Skilled labour	Semiskilled labour	Unskilled labour	
Electronics/electrical	27	64.69	34	10894	13518	5359	19087	12653	250	4918	24466
Textiles/garments	14	239.04	92	5739	6407	4272	7966	6831	748	1937	12238
Food processing/canning	13	53.83	1	615	662	695	583	547	5	316	1278
Chemicals/fertilizer	10	28.30	6	503	457	652	314	196	41	419	966
Metal products	17	63.79	13	1319	1253	2001	584	133	101	196	2585
Rubber-based industries	6	32.64	7	1100	931	1084	954	409	91	1103	2038
Machinery/motor and bicycle parts	9	14.07	6	217	411	535	99	834	247	720	634
Timber-based industries	5	6.43	4	309	372	396	289	64	18	130	685
Feedmeals industry	4	27.39	2	159	201	295	67	308	92	351	362
Paper products/ printing works	10	42.10	1	429	575	604	401	75	89	253	1005
Industrial gases	3	64.44	—	17	51	66	2	17	9	3	68
Processing of agricultural products	6	50.50	5	448	756	1036	173	37	3	169	1209
Plastic products	6	11.80	5	145	198	238	110	400	—	228	348
Others	24	64.92	50	1927	2234	2167	2044	772	39	1799	4211
Total	154	763.74	226	23821	28026	19400	32673	23276	1733	12542	52073

Source: Penang Development Corporation (1983).

study, however, is on the needs and problems of these young workers in relation to the provision of urban services.

The majority of the new youthful labour force, produced by the particular nature of industries in the free trade zone, is Malay, female, and of rural origin. They congregate in the surrounding areas of the industrial estates and new towns that have been established to accommodate both the industries and the new workers. In contrast, the burgeoning "informal" tertiary sector was based in established areas, meeting the demands of the expanding urban population. The work force created was drawn from the lower class families in "traditional" communities, such as the Chinese clan jetties of Penang (Chan 1980). Whereas the sustenance of this informal sector work force is based upon direct links within this community, the new work force in the corporate sector is maintained by links with the rural areas. Patterns of behaviour, work situation, and acceptance by the resident community differ among these two groups. It is for this reason that we wish to contrast the different working conditions of these two groups of young workers, their need for basic services, and their social development. What kinds of resources — individual, community, corporate, and governmental — do they draw upon to support their basic cultural and economic needs?

Young urban workers may not, as a whole, necessarily be part of the poor target group, just as those in the urban informal sector (e.g., hawkers, vendors, and other workers in small enterprises and services) are not all poor. Nonetheless, the emergence of this group of young workers in both the formal and informal sectors has implications for the provision of basic services to the urban poor as a whole. First, their presence in increasing numbers as the pace of industrialization in Penang accelerates leads to pressure on the existing provision of urban services (e.g, housing, transportation, and other facilities and amenities on an area basis).

Second, the social/cultural context of the two groups is different and, therefore, will have different implications for the provision of urban services. This requires an appraisal of the existing urban services for these social groups in the areas under study as well as throughout Penang as a whole. Urban services for young workers, in both sectors, are provided through various means, which may or may not coincide in nature, extent, and impact between the two social groups. Three channels may be distinguished: services provided through governmental and nongovernmental (including community) organizations, those provided through work establishments, and those provided by the target group through various self-help schemes.

A three-tiered evaluation is required so that relevant action programs and services that cater to the needs, education, and development of young workers could be effectively designed and implemented. The appraisal should not only emphasize the type and content of the programs but also place special emphasis on the strategy of their implementation, or the method of providing these activities. The appropriateness and effectiveness of the existing structure of urban services, both governmental and nongovernmental, should be reviewed to determine: (1) the extent to which they meet the needs for which they were originally designed, (2) the extent to which they meet the current needs of workers, (3) the extent to which they reach and actually benefit workers, and (4) the value of the programs or services provided within the overall policy on urban services.

Implied in these aims is an assessment of the different functions of the urban services programs, the impact of their provision, and the question of access and

dependency created as a result of the model of urban development adopted in the Penang situation. In particular, what is the likelihood of success for participatory organizational strategies, such as the young workers education project, in mobilizing and utilizing these resources to meet the specific developmental needs of the young workers in the different community settings that have been chosen?

Research Design

The research questions are as follows: What are the patterns of delivering urban services to young workers in the new situation? What is the relative efficacy of governmental, community, and corporate delivery systems, defined in general terms, in solving the problems of the young workers and providing for their basic material and nonmaterial needs? What is the role of more target-oriented participatory service delivery systems and how viable are self-help organizations?

Although government priorities have been directed at the development of industrial and employment opportunities, the development of other social programs and services to meet the basic and social needs of this expanding work force have been neglected. Some of these needs, which are purportedly being met by the government, employers, and other nongovernmental organizations, are, in effect, largely left uncatered to because the "patron" bodies do not actually promote or enhance workers' welfare. The government's concern has often been directed toward labour legislation to establish a stable labour force and effective labour control for economic development through industrial relations legislation. There are also various industrial training programs that emphasize enhancement of skills and increased productivity among young workers (mostly school dropouts). The employers' approach is to emphasize employee benefits and other intramural programs and to improve relations between management and labour and provide the right conditions for increased productivity. On the other hand, the activities of voluntary nongovernmental organizations (such as the YMCA, YWCA, the Befrienders, Pemadan (antidrug organization), Women's Welfare Council, etc.) are ad hoc and piecemeal. As such, the problems of absence of adequate services that actually cater to the needs and development of the young workers remain largely unattended.

The research design consists of three aspects:

(1) An overall evaluation of urban services for young workers in both the formal and informal sectors in Penang through an assessment of the kinds of urban services and programs that cater to the needs, education, and development of young industrial workers. This would incorporate an evaluation of existing governmental and nongovernmental (e.g., employers, unions, voluntary organizations, etc.) services that are provided and the extent to which they can be modified to better serve the needs of young workers. The evaluation of these services and programs will consider, among other things, how they are being provided (the approach and methodology) and to what extent there is worker involvement and participation. Attention will also be focused on organization and distribution mechanisms.

(2) An evaluation of the Young Workers Centre Education Project (YWCEP) in terms of its concept, program, effectiveness, approach and methodology, and organizational/structural framework. A fundamental concern will be to assess the viability of YWCEP as a model for replication. In addition, the modifications to make it a better and more effective program will be considered and the possibility of implementing it as a continuing urban industrial community service that supports

and facilitates the development of workers and worker organizations will be investigated. This would, of course, necessitate prior identification and analysis of workers' needs and problems.

(3) On the basis of the evaluations of YWCEP and the provision of services to young urban industrial workers, an action-oriented research program will be undertaken to establish a more comprehensive, effective, and sustainable program to ensure that the services provided meet the needs of this group.

More specifically, the following methodology was implemented:

(1) Bayan Baru area, with a new township, which until 1970 was padi land, was the focus for the corporate sector target group. It has an ethnically mixed population of recent immigrants consisting mostly of middle-class wage earners employed by the predominantly multinational companies in the FTZ.

(2) The Penang Weld Quay area, which was the focus for the informal sector target group, is in the old port and first industrial area of Georgetown. Predominantly Chinese, it was one of the earliest settled portions of the city. It is now suffering from urban decay and poverty, mainly as a result of the loss of Penang's free port status in 1969, upon which the residents' livelihood hinged. Many of the small-scale industries and backyard workshops of the informal sector are located here.

Definitions

The formal sector was defined as establishments with 30 or more workers, whereas establishments in the informal sector employed fewer than 30 workers. This was an arbitrary cutoff point, but from reconnaissance work it was felt that too low a cutoff (e.g., 10 workers) would include only predominantly family enterprises and, consequently, family workers.

For the formal/corporate sector, the definition of "workers" referred only to operators on the production line, including packagers and handlers. The following categories were excluded: management staff, supervisory staff, professional/technical maintenance staff, building maintenance staff (e.g., sweepers, janitors, cleaners, etc.), security staff, clerical/administrative staff, and drivers. For the informal sector, "workers" were defined as those engaged in production and processing in manufacturing industries. Thus, production meant making things, e.g., boxes, metal tins, noodles, joss-sticks, salted fish, etc., and processing referred to processing different foods and household items, e.g., grading onions, peeling prawns, bottling dyes, packaging food, etc.

These definitions, therefore, excluded mechanics, welders, servants, hawkers, washer women, and other service-oriented jobs. Furthermore, the workers had to be employees, i.e., they could not be proprietors or self-employed. The definitions also excluded immediate family members, but included relatives. In terms of age, "young workers" were defined as those between the ages of 13 and 36 years.

Stages of Fieldwork

Stage I

This stage involved direct interviews with relevant government authorities, factory management, and voluntary organizations. An unstructured questionnaire

was used for surveying governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Secondary data sources from both official and unofficial documents were utilized.

For the factory survey, an initial questionnaire was prepared and tested among five factories. After modifying the questionnaire, the revised version was sent to 100 of the 222 factories in the Penang Development Corporation (PDC) industrial area. An additional 20 surveys were sent to factories outside of the PDC industrial area. Of the 120 factories surveyed, only 26 returned completed questionnaires by the stated deadline. Consequently, the remaining factories were approached in person. In this manner, an additional 24 questionnaires were completed. Follow-up interview sessions with some factories were also conducted.

Stage II

A questionnaire was prepared for the worker survey. The target group was sampled according to the two study areas. The total work force in the Bayan Lepas FTZ is estimated to be 30000. The number of young workers in the informal sector is comparable but no figures were available. A total of 422 workers were included in the formal sector sample, including 281 from the Bayan Baru area and 141 from the Weld Quay area. The informal sector sample involved 210 workers, all from the Weld Quay area. In keeping with the expected sex structure of the young workers' population, a female–male ratio of 4:1 was maintained in the overall sample. The overall breakdown between *bumiputra* and non-*bumiputra* workers in the final sample was 53.6% to 46.4%, respectively, in the formal sector and almost entirely non-*bumiputra* in the informal sector.

Sociodemographic and Economic Characteristics

Four major factors have determined, to a great extent, the sociodemographic and economic characteristics of the young workers being studied. First, the overall political economic structure and its processes has resulted in the following patterns. The redeployment of manufacturing industries from developed regions to many Third World countries has resulted in the growth of multinational companies, especially in the electronics industry, employing predominantly female production workers. At the same time, the Malaysian government's New Economic Policy has, within its stated aims, been responsible for the out-migration of rural Malays, in this case specifically females, to urban manufacturing industries. These factors coincided with the entry into the labour market of a young, educated population.

Second, the characteristics of the young workers within the formal and informal sectors reflect the contrasting nature of these two sectors. This is particularly obvious with respect to: age (the informal sector has a wider age range, from child labour to women in their sixties, whereas the formal sector has to adhere to the legal age of employment of 16 years or older), educational level (in the formal sector, a minimum of education is required for particular jobs; in the informal sector, education is relatively unimportant), and the nature of recruitment (the corporate sector expects certain formal qualifications, such as education, minimum age, and application for a job via formal channels; in the informal sector, jobs are obtained through friends and relatives). The wider political and economic structures influence these patterns as well. This point can be illustrated by looking at the question of absorption into the formal or informal labour market. Owing to the nature of the

informal sector, Malays find it difficult to gain entry into this sector because jobs depend upon ascription, such as kinship, contacts, and in the case of skilled work, apprenticeship. Thus, the easier, and perhaps preferred, route for Malays is formal sector jobs in bigger companies, including the government, where job recruitment is formalized through educational requirements, quota systems, etc.

Third, the purposive nature of the sample is reflected in the sociodemographic and economic data. Only workers in the age group 13–36 were selected, which meant that the youthfulness of the population was reflected in the large proportion that were single, first-time job holders, living with their family (the nonmigrants) or living outside the family (migrants), had a higher mean level of education than the national average, and displayed certain expenditure patterns characteristic of unmarried persons. Closely related to the formal and informal sector division is the choice of the two study areas of Bayan Baru and Weld Quay. Bayan Baru is where the free trade zone is located, a designated export-processing zone that provides special privileges to multinational companies. Because most of these companies are involved in the electronics industry, they prefer to employ young female workers (over 90% of the workers in the electronics industry were females).

Finally, all of the formal sector workers were from Bayan Lepas. However, Weld Quay had both formal and informal sector workers even though it is principally an informal sector area. A comparison of workers revealed that any meaningful difference that exists is really a result of the differences between sectors as opposed to differences between workers from the two areas.

Sociodemographic Characteristics

The importance of ethnicity in the recent urbanization process, especially in the expansion of export-led processing industries, as a basically Malay pattern is illustrated in Table 3. Among young workers, the ethnic composition of the formal and informal sectors was very different.

The fact that recent migrants to FTZs are mainly Malay and female is borne out by the finding that 90.5% of workers in the formal sector were females. This was in spite of all-out attempts to increase the number of male production workers in the corporate sector in Bayan Baru during sampling. This is a reflection of the actual situation facing semiskilled operatives[3] in multinational semiconductor and textile factories in Third World countries.[4] It has been estimated that as much as 95% of the production-line work force in Bayan Baru is female. There are many reasons for the predominance of females in such an industrial work force as the one in Bayan Baru. Some of these factors relate to the specific nature of the electronics industries (UNIDO 1980). For example, most of the factories in Bayan Baru are transnational companies, located there to exploit the advantages of the free trade zone and availability of labour from the hinterland. These factories, especially the semiconductor companies, prefer to employ females because of their manual dexterity (e.g., a necessity for bonding through the use of microscopes and other exacting work in which mistakes will render the product useless), patience (with respect to performing highly repetitive tasks), availability (especially from the

[3] This term is usually given to workers who perform specific tasks in the semiconductor production process that are highly repetitive and quickly learned (Eisold 1982)

[4] Refer to Eisold (1982) for a discussion of the characteristics of semiconductor workers in Asia, especially ASEAN, and Lim (1978) for Malaysia and Singapore.

Table 3. Ethnicity in the formal and informal sectors.

Ethnic origin	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
Malay	53.6	0.5
Chinese	32.7	97.6
Indian	13.5	1.9
Other	0.2	—

Source: The data presented in most tables in this chapter were derived from an urban services survey conducted in 1982 when this study was carried out.

Table 4. Age ranges within the formal and informal sectors.

Age (years)	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
13–15	1.7	9.5
16–19	23.9	33.8
20–23	38.1	20.0
24–27	21.4	12.9
28–31	10.6	11.4
32–36	4.3	12.4
Average (years)	22.6	22.3

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

surrounding rural areas), and the fact that they provide a cheap source of labour. It has been suggested that employers prefer to hire temporary workers, i.e., women who will work for 1–2 years and then retire from the labour force, because their productivity declines after a few years of work, mainly as a result of deteriorating eyesight (Eisold 1982). Although workers must be trained, there is no need for a skilled labour force because the majority of workers can learn their job and reach maximum productivity within a few weeks. Indeed, the importance of the female work force in the electronics industry has made companies relocate their operations in search of female labour rather than employ a different sector of the population. A second factor is that technological development within the electronics industry is so rapid that the industry must, to remain competitive, utilize manual labour (owing to its inherent flexibility) rather than machines. Most of the male employees in the electronics industry tend to work in the higher echelons as skilled labour, such as technicians, and not as operators on the production line. There is even evidence from other Asian countries, which have had more experience with semiconductor companies, that there is a tendency not to train already employed female production workers for work requiring greater skills.[5] In contrast, the informal sector was more heterogeneous, employing 55.7% females and reflecting the dominance of family labour and the Chinese ethnicity of the majority of workers.

The average age in the formal and informal sectors was 22.6 and 22.3 years respectively (Table 4). However, closer examination of the age pattern reveals that the distribution is dissimilar, e.g., 83% of workers in the formal sector were between the ages of 16 and 27 years compared with 67% in the informal sector. The fact that the formal sector is drawing from the younger segment of the population is a result of the availability of female labour at these younger ages, which suits the needs of the transnational companies. In contrast, in the informal sector, in which legal restrictions are weakly enforced (in the formal sector, 1.7% of workers are

[5] Although it can be argued that most technological training schools are attended predominantly by males, there is also the feeling among some personnel managers in semiconductor companies that the female work force is temporary, with many women leaving after they marry or after the birth of a child.

Table 5. Educational level of workers in the formal and informal sectors.

Schooling	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
No schooling	1.7	7.1
Standard 1 – Standard 6	28.4	49.1
Form 1 – Form 3	40.3	37.1
Form 4 and above	29.6	6.7
Average (years)	8.0	6.2

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 6. Educational level by ethnic background in the formal sector.

Schooling	Malay (%)	Chinese (%)
No schooling	0	5.1
Standard 1 – Standard 6	19.9	44.2
Form 1 – Form 3	35.9	40.6
Form 4 and above	44.2	10.1

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

younger than 16 years of age, the legal working age), 9.5% of the workers are younger than 16 years of age. Child labour is quite common in the traditional industries of Weld Quay. As expected, the oldest workers are also found in the informal sector, with 12.4% between the ages of 32 and 36 years, compared with 4.3% in the formal sector. An examination of age distribution by ethnic background reveals that most of the younger workers are Chinese, e.g., 36% of the Chinese workers are between the ages of 15 and 19 years, compared with 21% for Malays. More than 53% of the Malay workers were between the ages of 20 and 24 years. This pattern reflects the national female labour force participation among the total population and migration streams of 1956–1970 (Young 1982). In contrast to Malay women, Chinese women tend to enter the labour force at a much younger age (younger than 20 years) and prior to marriage. Owing to the youthfulness of the population, more than 80% of the workers in both the formal and informal sectors were single.

Education is perhaps the single most important sociodemographic factor influencing occupations. It is certainly a prerequisite for most corporate sector jobs, unlike the informal sector. In line with the defined characteristics of the informal sector, such as easy access, knowledge acquired outside formal education, social contacts, etc., apprenticeship plays a crucial role in job recruitment. For this reason, workers in the corporate sector have a higher mean level of education (8 years) than workers in the informal sector (6.2 years) (Table 5), with 70% of workers in the formal sector having attended secondary school compared with 44% in the informal sector. The anomalies, i.e., those without schooling yet employed in the formal sector, were all Chinese women employed as machinists by a Chinese-owned garment factory that produced solely exports.

An analysis of schooling by ethnic background in the corporate sector revealed, again similar to national patterns, that the Malays had more schooling than the Chinese (Young 1982) — 80% of the Malays had at least secondary schooling compared with only 51% of the Chinese (Table 6). The proportion of Chinese in the informal sector with secondary school education was slightly lower at 44%. Most of the Chinese in both sectors had only 1–3 years of primary schooling.

Education still appears to be communally based, with each ethnic group being educated in their own language. Most Malays in the formal sector attended Malay

schools (91%) to receive their primary education. Similarly, the Chinese attended Chinese schools (71%) at the primary level. This pattern shifted at the secondary school level to 60.8 and 26.8% respectively. The change occurred among the Chinese, who attended English and Malay medium schools. Many reasons account for communal education in Malaysia, the foundations of which were laid during colonial times (Loh 1975). For the Malay workers who had come from rural areas, Malay education was the only source of education available to them. Because most of the Chinese were urban based, the range of schools available to them was greater. In addition, the Chinese feel that English education gives them a better chance to obtain a modern-sector job. It is also clear from these findings that it is now possible to obtain factory jobs with foreign companies despite having only Malay medium schooling, a trend that did not exist during colonial and postindependence periods. This may be attributed to post-1970 government policies, specifically the New Economic Policy.

Migration Characteristics

With respect to migration, there were great differences between the formal and informal sectors. The formal sector had 45% lifetime interstate in-migrants compared with only 7% in the informal sector (Table 7). This is explained by the nature of the two sectors. In the corporate sector, 55% were born in Penang; the remainder came principally from Perak and Kedah, the closest states to Penang. For the majority, this was the first place people settled after leaving home. A breakdown of birthplace by ethnic background revealed that Malay workers were drawn from a larger number of states, mostly from Perak (46%) and Kedah (44%), than Chinese workers. Eighty-two percent of the Malays came from rural areas, compared with 7% of the Chinese. This is consistent with the 1965–1970 national migration pattern that showed Perak and Kedah as being major out-migration states and a tendency for receiving states to border out-migration states. The shorter distances, growth of the FTZ demanding female workers, and recruiting drives of some of these companies, which would go out to villages to recruit workers, all help to explain these macropatterns. In contrast, workers in the informal sector were, for the most part, born in Penang, and many within the vicinity.

Among formal workers, their reasons for leaving their place of birth are mainly economic (e.g., to find employment) and family oriented (e.g., relatives in Penang, marriage, moved with their family, etc.) (Table 8).

Table 7. Birthplace of workers in the formal and informal sectors.

State	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
Johore	0.4	—
Kedah	18.7	1.4
Kelantan	0.2	—
Negri Sembilan	0.7	—
Pahang	0.4	0.5
Penang	54.7	92.9
Perak	21.3	4.3
Perlis	1.9	0.5
Selangor	0.7	—
Other	0.7	—

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 8. Reasons for leaving birthplace and coming to Penang.

Reason	Formal sector	
	Leaving (%)	Coming (%)
Economic	28.4	10.1
Family	25.5	24.2
Forced to leave	18.8	47.5
Social	8.4	9.1
Transfer/retired	4.5	3.0
Inconvenience	4.5	3.0
Convenience	2.6	1.0
Ability to find work	2.6	—
Stopgap	2.6	1.0
Transport	1.5	—
Miscellaneous	0.9	1.0
Difficulties	—	—
Place to stay	—	—
Do not know	—	—

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

An analysis of workers' previous place of residence showed that in the formal sector 65.6% of the workers' previous place of residence was Penang. This was not surprising because among the young workers there is a great deal of residential mobility. In contrast, within the informal sector none of the workers gave their previous residence as being Penang; in fact, 95.7% lived in Perak prior to their current place of residence. This may indicate a lack of mobility of workers in the informal sector, many of whom cannot afford to live elsewhere, except in overcrowded rooms that house the entire family and are located close to the workplace.

When the reasons for moving were examined among workers in the formal sector, a "place of stay" emerged as the major factor (Table 9). This shows the importance of residential mobility. Family reasons are prominent as the second reason for relocating and the main reason for selecting their current place of residence.

Table 9. Reasons for leaving place of previous residence and coming to present location.

Reason	Formal sector	
	Leaving (%)	Coming (%)
Economic	10.3	10.0
Family	38.5	70.5
Forced to leave	0.3	—
Social	2.6	1.0
Transfer/retired	—	—
Inconvenience	—	—
Convenience	—	—
Ability to find work	—	—
Stopgap	—	—
Transport	—	—
Miscellaneous	—	—
Difficulties	3.3	—
Place to stay	43.3	18.5
Do not know	1.8	—

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Economic Characteristics

There are sharp contrasts in the occupational structures of the formal and informal sectors. Formal sector workers were concentrated in two main industries: electronics and textiles/garments. Females made up 96 and 89%, respectively, of the total workers in these two industries, with Malay women being engaged mainly in the electronics industry (70%) and Chinese women in the textiles/garments industry (53%).

Table 10 shows that the occupational structure of the informal sector was much more heterogeneous. The major occupations were in the manufacturing of food, beverages, tobacco, tin and steel products, paper products, and charcoal and wood products. The work is basically unskilled and easily transferable. Females were engaged in the lighter industries, such as grading and sorting different products, cleaning fish, piling and folding newspapers, making paper bags, rolling toilet paper, wrapping books, etc. Males were employed in the heavier industries, e.g., metal industries (89% males) and wood and charcoal (71% males).

Although there is no clear relationship between age and occupation in the formal sector, except that most of the electronics workers were young (between the ages of 20 and 23 years) because of their being Malay, the pattern in the informal sector revealed that child labour (under 16 years of age) is mainly involved in undemanding work, such as paper products (25% make paper bags), textiles (20% sew labels in shirts), and food and beverages (15% grade prawns). Like women, children were involved in the lightest and most unskilled work.

Information on the method by which workers in the formal and informal sectors got their current jobs is important for understanding the work situation in the two sectors. Whereas 77% of those in the formal sector got their jobs through personal application, the corresponding proportion in the informal sector was 22% (Table 11). One-third of the workers in the informal sector obtained their jobs through family and relatives, compared with 7% in the formal sector. Within this sector the manner in which Malays and Chinese obtained their jobs varied, with 78% of Malays obtaining their jobs through personal applications (to the electronic companies) as opposed to 31% of the Chinese obtaining their jobs in this way. Family and relatives played a more important role in getting jobs for the Chinese. To contrast the differences between the formal and informal sectors, a comparison of the Chinese workers in both sectors was made. The difference is stark when ethnicity is held constant (Table 12), with 34% of the Chinese in the informal sector

Table 10. Occupational structures of the informal sector.

Occupation	No. of employees	Percentage
Electronics	2	1.0
Textiles/garments	20	9.5
Charcoal, wood	31	14.8
Tin/steel	38	18.1
Vehicle parts	2	1.0
Footwear/plastics	13	6.2
Food, beverages, tobacco	38	18.1
Manufacturing paper, others	35	16.7
Sales, advertising	5	2.4
Agriculture, husbandry	22	10.5
Storage, transport, construction	4	1.9

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 11. Method of obtaining jobs in the formal and informal sectors.

Method	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
Personal application	77.0	21.9
Friends	10.2	43.3
Relatives	3.8	10.0
Employment bureau	3.6	—
Immediate family	3.3	23.3
Company recruitment	1.7	1.0
Influential person	0.2	—
Other	0.2	0.5

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 12. Method of obtaining a job by ethnic background.

	Formal sector		Informal sector
	Malay (%)	Chinese (%)	Chinese (%)
Family	1.3	5.8	23.4
Relatives	2.7	5.1	10.2
Friends	8.0	15.9	43.4
Influential persons	0.4	—	—
Employment exchange	6.2	—	—
Personal application	78.3	30.8	21.4
Recruitment	3.1	—	—
Others	—	0.7	—

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 13. Basic monthly income.

Income level (MYR)[a]	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
50–150	14.2	28.6
151–200	32.8	18.5
201–250	26.3	12.9
251–300	14.9	14.8
301–350	6.4	6.2
350+	18.2	19.0
Average (MYR)	225.2	254.5

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.
[a] Malaysian ringgit (MYR) 2.20 = United States dollar (USD) 1.

receiving help from family and relatives compared with 6% in the formal sector. The influence of friends was utilized by 43% of the Chinese in the informal sector compared with 16% in the formal sector.

Income and expenditure figures must be interpreted with caution in any survey. Nearly 30% of those employed in the informal sector earned between MYR 50 and MYR 150 per month (Table 13), compared with 14% in the formal sector. This was mainly female and child labour. The proportion in the higher income groups of the informal sector is comparable to the formal sector, which tended to cluster around MYR 151 – MYR 250 per month. The average expenditure pattern illustrated a similar structure between the formal and informal sectors. Workers in the formal sector tended to spend much more on clothing (14.7% compared with 4.6% in the informal sector) and more costly purchases (2.4% compared with 1.5%). This may be a result of consumerism. Proximity to the workplace of workers in the informal sector accounted for their lower transport costs compared with those of formal sector workers.

Living Conditions and Environmental Sanitation

The total sample of workers is distributed between Bayan Baru township and vicinity (281 workers) and the Weld Quay area (351 workers). The migrant character of the Bayan Baru sample is readily apparent from the fact that more than half of the workers stay in company hostels, cooperatively rented houses, or privately rented rooms in Bayan Baru township and nearby housing estates (Lip Sin, Pantai Jerejak, and Century Gardens). For those staying in the surrounding villages, a higher proportion (about two-thirds) live with their families; the remainder, for the most part, rent rooms. In contrast, nearly 90% of the workers in Weld Quay live with their immediate families (Table 14).

The types of dwellings in the two study locations are listed in Table 15. The state of repair (admittedly subjective in its assessment despite attempts to standardize the defining criteria) reflects the older, more established, and run-down character of Weld Quay, Penang's traditional working-class district.

To obtain a crude index of available living space, the number of persons per room (excluding kitchens and bathrooms/toilets) was computed for the various zones (as a measure for actual area per person). There are somewhat less crowded conditions in Bayan Baru, except for company hostels in Pantai Jerejak and Lip Sin Garden housing estates, where 15–20 persons are typically lodged in a four-room semidetached house. Interestingly, the crowding index for flats is lower than might be expected, which may indicate the weakness of this measure because it favours housing units with a higher ratio of rooms for common usage to bedrooms. In terms of potable water supplies, almost all dwellings in both areas are supplied with treated water. Toilet facilities and garbage disposal are less satisfactory, particularly in the Weld Quay area where bucket latrines and latrines overhanging the sea predominate and garbage from jetty households is dumped into the sea. Drainage for wastewater disposal is also inadequate in the village outskirts of Bayan Baru, and generally in Weld Quay.

Morbidity Patterns

The survey respondents were asked to list all episodes of illness experienced within the previous 2 months — episodes that were subsequently grouped into broad categories of diseases. From Table 16, it is clear that formal sector workers report a higher incidence (by 57%) of illness than informal sector workers. In particular, formal sector workers have a markedly higher incidence of gastrointestinal illness and fevers. The incidence of illness by residential zone (Table 17) reveals a strikingly higher incidence of gastrointestinal illness, skin illness, and fevers in the Bayan Baru area. It is difficult, in this study, to disentangle the work situation from the more general living environment with respect to disease etiology; thus, the relative contributions of each remain speculative. It was noted that potable water supplies were comparable in the two areas and that environmental sanitation was generally poorer in Weld Quay. Little information is available on food hygiene. It is also known that there is a higher proportion of shift workers (mostly electronics industry and textile workers) in Bayan Baru, which could contribute to the reported incidence of gastrointestinal disorders (in particular, constipation and gastric pain). Table 18 differentiates between shift and nonshift workers, who tend to be concentrated in Bayan Baru and Weld Quay respectively. Illnesses could also be related to the amount of job stress, which is likely to be higher among formal sector workers

Table 14. Living arrangements.

	Sample no.	Living with			Private rented room (%)	Shared rented house (%)	Company house/ hostel (%)	Others (%)
		Family (%)	Relatives (%)	Friends (%)				
Weld Quay								
Jetties	66	86.4	6.1	3.0	4.6	—	—	—
Weld Quay shop houses	52	82.7	7.7	—	1.9	—	5.8	1.9
Reclaimed coastal area	53	92.5	—	1.9	1.9	—	1.9	1.9
Flats and vicinity	64	89.1	4.7	—	3.1	3.1	—	—
South foreshore and vicinity	116	88.8	3.5	3.5	1.7	—	2.6	—
Average		88.0	4.3	2.0	2.7	0.6	2.0	0.6
Bayan Baru								
Cluster houses	55	32.7	5.5	—	10.9	50.9	—	—
Flats	39	56.4	2.6	5.1	2.6	33.3	—	—
Bayan Baru housing estate	36	25.0	2.8	2.8	16.7	47.2	5.6	—
Pantai Jerejak housing estate and vicinity	38	21.1	5.3	—	10.5	13.2	50.0	—
Lip Sin Garden housing estate	16	6.3	—	—	6.3	12.5	75.0	—
Sg. Nibong village	45	68.9	6.7	—	24.4	—	—	—
Sg. Ara village	41	65.9	2.4	—	19.5	9.8	—	2.4
Sg. Tiram village	11	63.8	—	—	36.4	—	—	—
Average		43.8	4.0	1.1	14.6	24.6	11.7	0.4

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 15. Types of workers' dwellings and their state of repair.

	Sample no.	Kampong house (%)	Jetty type wooden house (%)	Residential brick house (%)	Flat (%)	Shop house (%)	Others (%)	State of repair		
								Sound (%)	Deteriorated (%)	Dilapidated (%)
Weld Quay										
Jetties	66	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	30.3	50.0	19.7
Weld Quay shop houses	52	—	28.9	36.5	—	17.3	—	11.5	57.7	30.8
Reclaimed coastal area	53	1.9	75.5	5.7	1.9	1.9	13.2	22.6	32.1	45.3
Flats and vicinity	64	1.6	17.2	3.1	75.0	3.1	—	76.6	17.2	6.3
South foreshore and vicinity	116	0.9	54.3	22.4	—	20.7	1.7	13.8	63.8	22.4
Average		0.9	55.6	14.2	14.0	10.3	5.1	29.3	47.0	23.6
Bayan Baru										
Cluster houses	55	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	98.2	1.8	—
Flats	39	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	100.0	—	—
Bayan Baru housing estate	36	—	2.8	97.2	—	—	—	97.2	—	2.8
Pantai Jerejak housing estate and vicinity	38	34.2	—	63.2	—	—	2.6	71.1	28.9	—
Lip Sin Garden housing estate	16	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	100.0	—	—
Sg. Nibong village	45	97.8	—	2.2	—	—	—	80.0	13.3	6.7
Sg. Ara village	41	97.6	—	2.4	—	—	—	60.1	31.7	7.3
Sg. Tiram village	11	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	45.5	54.5	—
Average		38.4	0.4	47.0	13.9	—	0.4	84.3	13.2	2.5

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 16. Incidence of symptoms/complaints of workers in the formal and informal sectors.

	Formal workers (%)	Informal workers (%)
Back pains	48.8	30.0
Leg pains	35.8	21.4
Muscle pains	23.3	25.2
Headaches	67.1	53.3
Dizziness	62.1	33.3
Eyestrain	46.2	—
Visual impairment	23.5	—
Chest pains	22.0	4.3
Dryness of throat	26.1	—
Loss of appetite	35.8	17.6
Indigestion	31.8	7.1
Abdominal/gastric pains	28.0	19.0
Weakness	22.7	15.2
Fatigue	67.5	30.0
Anxiety	33.9	13.3
Sleeplessness	46.4	18.6
Irritability	28.0	16.2
Vomiting	11.8	7.1
Nausea	17.1	11.0
Dermatitis	12.3	9.0
Wheezing	13.3	6.7
Phlegm	15.6	13.8
Persistent cough	17.5	15.2
Constipation	10.0	10.0
Loose stool	10.4	10.0

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

where a strict labour discipline, performance evaluation, and more or less impersonal labour–management relations prevail.

The morbidity patterns by industry are presented in Table 19. Among electronics industry employees, there were high incidences of gastrointestinal and fever episodes. The significance of the high accident rates among employees in the textile, machinery and metal products, and furniture and wood products manufacturing industries is not clear because the accidents reported also included injuries that were not directly job related. Another noteworthy result was the high incidence of illnesses listed for Lip Sin Gardens (Bayan Baru zone).

Illness Symptoms/Complaints

In addition to episodes of illness, workers were also asked about symptoms of and discomforts associated with illnesses. The incidence of complaints/symptoms reported by formal sector workers is markedly higher than for informal sector workers (Table 16). A major problem with interpreting the pattern of complaints is that most complaints are subjective and self-diagnosed, vague to some degree, and nonspecific at two levels; the symptom could be associated with problems not peculiar to the workplace and a given symptom could be associated with a variety of occupational hazards in a particular workplace. In electronics industry assembly work, for example, the symptoms of exposure to organic solvents (headache, drowsiness, dizziness, irritability, nausea) largely overlap with complaints associated with shift work (dizziness, anxiety). It is pertinent to reiterate that the pattern of complaints lends itself to a host of interpretations that are merely suggestive of occupational exposure. The pattern needs to be followed up by in-plant investigation.

Table 17. Incidence of illness by zone.

	Sample no.	Gastro-intestinal (%)	Respiratory (%)	Skin illness (%)	Fever (%)	Intestinal parasites (%)	Accidents (%)	Other (%)
Weld Quay								
Zone 1: Jetties	66	12.1	19.7	4.5	13.6	0	1.5	9.1
Zone 2: Weld Quay shop houses	52	11.5	25.0	3.8	11.5	0	11.5	15.4
Zone 3: Reclaimed coastal area	53	7.5	15.1	1.9	20.8	0	9.4	15.1
Zone 4: Flats and vicinity	64	15.6	12.5	3.1	12.5	0	0	12.5
Zone 5: South foreshore and vicinity	116	11.2	19.0	3.4	7.8	0.9	8.6	9.5
Bayan Baru								
Zone 10: Cluster houses	55	52.7	32.7	1.8	32.7	0	12.7	25.5
Zone 11: Flats	39	51.3	17.9	12.8	12.8	0	10.3	41.0
Zone 12: Bayan Baru housing estate	36	22.2	19.4	11.1	16.7	5.6	13.9	22.2
Zone 13: Pantai Jerejak housing estate and vicinity	38	39.4	39.5	13.1	21.1	2.6	7.9	2.6
Zone 15: Lip Sin Garden housing estate	46	62.5	12.5	31.3	50.0	0	25.0	18.8
Zone 16: Sg. Nibong village	45	15.6	11.1	0	24.4	0	8.9	8.9
Zone 17: Sg. Ara village	41	24.4	14.6	2.4	31.7	0	0	7.3
Zone 18: Sg. Tiram village	11	36.4	18.2	18.2	27.3	0	9.1	9.1

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 18. Morbidity patterns of shift and nonshift workers.

Illness	Incidence of episodes	
	Shift worker (%)	Nonshift worker (%)
Gastrointestinal	32.9	19.9
Respiratory	23.1	17.6
Skin	8.0	2.2
Fever	23.4	19.9
Accidents	7.3	5.1
Intestinal parasitism	0.7	0
Other	16.4	12.5

Table 19. Incidence of illness by industry.

Industry	No. of workers	Illness						
		Gastro-intestinal (%)	Respir-atory (%)	Skin illness (%)	Fever (%)	Intestinal parasites (%)	Accident (%)	Other (%)
Electronics	241	30.1	19.1	7.1	22.4	0	4.6	16.6
Textiles/ garments	120	27.5	20.8	4.2	20.0	2.5	10.0	11.7
Food and beverages	42	9.5	16.7	7.1	4.8	0	0	14.3
Paper products	83	10.8	16.9	2.4	10.8	0	9.6	9.6
Other manufac-turing	60	13.3	18.3	5.0	20.0	1.7	13.3	13.3
Retailing	34	14.7	32.3	11.8	11.8	0	11.8	20.6

With these qualifications, one notes that the high incidence of specific symptoms is consistent with work situations involving: (1) long hours of sedentary or standing work, relative immobility (symptoms: back pains, leg pains, varicose veins); (2) rotational shift work (symptoms: loss of appetite, indigestion, abdominal and gastric pains, sleeplessness, fatigue, anxiety, irritability); (3) prolonged periods of visual concentration, such as in microscope work in electronics plants (symptoms: dizziness, eyestrain, headaches); and (4) exposure to organic solvents (symptoms: headaches, dizziness, irritability).

On an industry basis, textile workers present a pattern of complaints that largely corroborates their morbidity pattern, i.e., complaints characteristic of workers on rotational shift work and experiencing some degree of respiratory impairment (wheezing, unable to walk briskly, weakness, fatigue). Together with electronics workers, who also reported symptoms associated with shift work, visual stress, and possibly exposure to organic solvents, these industries stand out as the two industries with the highest frequencies of complaints. The significance of the high frequency of complaints of workers in the rubber products industry is uncertain given the small sample size.

It is also important to note that there are other health problems associated with the textiles and electronics industries that could not be easily measured using a symptomatic questionnaire of this sort. These include:

(1) Hearing loss resulting from excessive noise levels, such as that occurring in the weaving section of textile plants.

(2) Exposure to radiation (X-rays, radioisotopes, ultraviolet rays, radio fre-

quency and microwaves, lasers) that is commonly used in the electronics industry, which has few or no immediate effects that are easily recognizable by workers.

(3) Occupational cancers, which may take 20–30 years after exposure to manifest themselves. Examples of known carcinogens used in the electronics industry include arsenic, asbestos, benzene, beryllium, and chromates.

(4) Reproductive problems: Certain chemicals, radiation, and conditions encountered in the electronics industry are known to affect the reproductive systems of both men and women. The effects include changes in sexual behaviour, disorders of the reproductive organs, sterility and infertility, and miscarriages and birth defects. Examples of such harmful agents include carbon tetrachloride, methyl and ethyl ketones, antimony, lead, and X-rays.

(5) Corrosive liquids: Electronics workers engaged in electroplating, etching, metal pickling, and use of fluxes come into contact with acids and alkalis. Inhalation of these corrosive substances (as mists in the air) result in laryngitis, emphysema, excessive fluid in the lungs, and pneumonia. Accidental splashing of the more concentrated acids and alkalis can cause severe skin burns and extreme eye damage.

The Role of Organizations in the Provision of Service

There is great diversity of organizations as indicated by the presence of various religious, political, and social groups. Each has its own structure, objective, and role to play in every society.

For the purpose of this survey, we inquired into the existence of organizations that cater to the needs of the young workers. Such organizations were then identified and located and the services and activities provided to the workers concerned were determined.

A sampling of the various organizations was made as it was impossible to survey each individually. A list of organizations that might have some connection with workers or youths in general was drawn up. The organizations were divided into governmental organizations (GOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The NGOs were subdivided further into: community-based organizations, e.g., residents' associations, clan associations, and some religious groups; community service organizations, e.g., Young Men's Christian Association, Family Planning Association, Consumers' Association, and Lions Club; worker-oriented organizations, e.g., trade unions, traders' committees and guilds, and Young Christian Workers' Movement; women's organizations, e.g., Women's Institute, Women's Aid Bureau, and Young Women's Christian Association; and youth organizations, e.g., Tamil Youth Bell Club, Malaysian Association of Youth Clubs, and 4-B (Belajar, Bersatu, Berusaha, Berkhidmat) Clubs. It should be noted that some of the organizations overlap within the groupings, but because the differentiation was more for convenience, this point should not be overstressed.

The NGOs were surveyed through questionnaires that were sent to various selected organizations, whereas the GOs were visited and interviewed, guided by a common interview schedule. Information was also obtained from secondary sources, such as annual reports and publications.

From the responses obtained, a cursory glance at the NGOs revealed that only a few organizations had direct dealings and connections with specific workers.

These included the Malaysian Trade Union Congress, Penang Petty Traders' Association, Penang and Province Wellesley Textile and Garment Workers' Union, Young Christian Workers' Movement (YCWM), and the Women Workers' Service Centre. Other organizations, such as the Tamil Youth Bell Club, 4-B Clubs, Malaysian Association of Youth Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, Family Planning Association, Women's Institute, and Consumers' Association of Penang (CAP), have indirect connections insofar as their memberships include workers too, but not exclusively. The thrust of these latter organizations is toward youths and the general community. Other organizations have no contacts with workers at all, e.g., the Apex Club and the Women's Society of Christian Service.

A closer examination of the objectives of these organizations revealed that most youth organizations aim to unite youths; train them to be leaders; help them mature into mentally, spiritually, and physically wholesome adults; and develop their skills. Community service organizations have a vast set of goals ranging from consumer protection and education, family planning, crisis counseling, and caring for the welfare of the community at large to spreading religious beliefs and ideals. To upgrade the status of women, work for the welfare and advancement of women and children, and aid battered wives are some of the objectives of the more liberal groups. Other groups promote more traditional values, such as learning about handicrafts and homemaking. Maintenance and preservation of the clan and community and perpetuation of cultural heritage and traditions are major concerns of some community-based organizations. Worker-oriented organizations propose to safeguard the interests and welfare of workers and raise their awareness of their rights within, contributions to, and relationships within society.

Apart from their objectives, features of some organizations tend to discourage workers from participating in their activities despite an open-door policy, e.g., certain organizations, by virtue of their ethnic background, refuse membership to workers belonging to other ethnic groups. The Tamil Youth Bell Club, for instance, one of the more active youth organizations, has a membership of 2654 youths, all Indians, whereas Barisan Belia Bersatu has 3529 Malay members, all of whom are Chinese (Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports 1981).

In addition, some organizations demand some form of religious affiliation. Regardless of whether the religious aspects play an active role in the group's activities, a barrier is erected that prevents workers from a different religious background or belief from joining the organizations, e.g., the Methodist Youth Fellowship has 315 Chinese and 44 Indian members; the Malaysian Buddhist Youth Fellowship has 551 Chinese members and 63 members of other ethnic backgrounds; the Young Christian Workers' Movement has a membership of 511 Chinese, 143 Indians, and 61 others; and Angkatan Belia Islam has 611 Malay members (Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports, 1981). It is interesting to note that 95% of the YCWM members are not religiously affiliated to the organization; only the executive committee members are required to be Christians. Their emphasis is not on religious issues but, because of the name and connections of the organization, the uninformed worker believes otherwise.

Another obstruction to general participation in YCWM is the language barrier. The branch in Penang is more Chinese oriented because the majority of the workers were educated in Chinese. Naturally, this prevents non-Chinese speaking groups from taking part in the activities. Similarly, the YMCA and YWCA are geared toward those who can communicate in English.

This language problem is also a reflection of class differences among the membership of various organizations. The majority of members of the YMCA and YWCA belong to the middle-income group. CAP's membership also consists mainly of the middle and upper middle income brackets, as are members of the Family Planning Association, Apex Club, Lions Club, and Rotary Club. The youth clubs have a wide range of members but a great number are students and members of the education profession. As some officials commented, perhaps the structure of their working hours allows them more time to participate in the activities.

The location of the organizations is another factor that affects the membership, e.g., a rural-based organization, such as the Women's Institute, will be more grass-roots oriented than the Lions Club. Most of the former's branches are based in villages, with an entire membership of females. A large proportion of the members are housewives, but working women also make up a substantial number. Owing to its rural grass-roots base, the membership is limited to residents of the villages.

In association with ethnic and class differences, the recruitment process is also affected. In rural areas, members of the community gain access to the organizations through kinship connections and personal contacts. Similarly, in other types of organizations, most recruitment methods are through personal recommendations and introductions. Only a handful of organizations venture into open membership drives and campaigns, and even then only periodically. Hence, the former practices contribute to a biased membership.

From the returned questionnaires, it could be seen that many organizations carried out similar activities: youth organizations invariably are involved in sports and recreation, outings and tours, hobbies and crafts, cultural activities, language classes, and leadership and skill training courses; women's groups lean toward homemaking and handicraft pursuits and family and health education; community service associations, depending on their objectives, may incorporate consumer education, family planning education, and religious activities; and worker-oriented groups lean toward instruction on labour laws and workers' rights. It should be noted that because many of these organizations are voluntary, with little or no funding or support from the government, they have to resort to fund-raising projects. As a result, many of their activities mirror this aspect.

The above discussion deals only with NGOs. If the government does not seem to be a major supporter or financier of NGOs, what role does the government play in the affairs of this productive labour force that it has helped to create?

The Ministry of Labour and Manpower is the logical agency to be involved in workers' affairs. Its subagencies — Department of Labour, Department of Industrial Relations, Social Security Organization, Department of Factories and Machinery, and Department of Manpower — are in a strong position to protect and promote the welfare and well-being of the workers, as these are the stated responsibilities and functions of the ministry (Ministry of Labour and Manpower 1975). It also strives to promote good employer–employee relations, equip the unemployed with basic industrial skills, improve the skill level of the labour force, and help maximize the use of manpower resources and create employment opportunities. It also has at its disposal certain legislative powers to execute its objectives.

The Department of Labour and Department of Industrial Relations share some similar functions: advising the Minister of Labour and Manpower, employers'/employees' organizations, trade unions, and others on labour and industrial mat-

ters; collecting and compiling statistics and information on employment, wage rates, working hours, working conditions, and so on (Ministry of Labour and Manpower 1975; Federation of Malaysian Manufacturers 1980). The Department of Labour emphasizes labour enforcement through judicial and quasi-judicial actions, whereas the Department of Industrial Relations stresses promotion of good relationships between employers and employees and prevention of labour disputes.

Whether or not laudable objectives of the various departments are successfully implemented or enforced is the crucial question. Reports from secondary sources have given us reason to believe that the departments are not always successful in fulfilling their aims. Many workers, for instance, are unaware of their rights and the channels and procedures for seeking help. This perception is reinforced by the deep sense of workers' ignorance revealed by our workers' survey.

Perhaps, the reasons so often quoted for the inefficient delivery of services are valid. The lack of funds and human resources are, indeed, impediments to an efficient system, but they are only partial explanations.

The Ministry of Labour and Manpower and other government agencies and offices also have dealings with the workers indirectly, e.g., NACIWID, under the Prime Minister's Department, is the umbrella organization for women's groups in Malaysia. Women workers who are members of groups such as NCWD, YWCA, and Women's Institute, therefore, will be affiliated with NACIWID. The structure of NACIWID, however, confines it to coordinating, consultative, and advisory activities, having direct contacts only with committee members.

Similarly, the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports focuses more on youths than on workers per se. During the 1970s, it directed its efforts toward the economic development of youths. Thus, it sponsored and organized leadership and vocational training courses and also helped generate employment opportunities. The training courses included formal and informal training. The formal training involved sending selected youths to training centres at Dusun Tua and Peretak in Selangor where they acquired skills in accounting, photography, fashion designing, hairdressing, catering, and tailoring. On-the-job training constituted the informal type of training. Youths were placed in different enterprises to learn about motor repairs, welding, carpentry, weaving, printing, and construction work (Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports 1981).

Nevertheless, the rapid rate of industrialization forced the ministry to recognize the problems faced by these emerging young workers. Thus, during the 1980s, the ministry incorporated within its programs activities for factory workers. In 1981, a special item, the "Factory Youths' Program," was launched. With this program, the ministry hoped to involve factory workers in activities organized by the department, thus alleviating some of their social problems (Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports 1981). It also initiated a skills-improvement program for workers. Coordination with the National Productivity Centre, factories, training agencies, and youths' organizations was also sought. Because of financial and labour constraints, this program is inactive at present.

The foregoing discussion provides a brief overview of the various organizations and their activities in relation to workers. It would now be timely to consider three questions: (1) Are there opportunities for workers to participate in these organizations and satisfy their needs? (2) Do workers actually participate if the opportunity exists? (3) What is the potential for existing organizations to be developed further?

In answer to the first question, the sampling of organizations implied the existence of an abundance of activities that are available to workers. Upon closer analysis, however, the reverse is found to be true. As discussed earlier, barriers created by features of some organizations, such as ethnic background, religious affiliation, and language and class differences, unobtrusively bar certain factions of workers from participating. This may seem to be a minor problem if, for example, each ethnic group has its own comparable organization. However, the very presence of this differentiation reduces opportunities for workers. Furthermore, separation across ethnic lines causes further racial drifts and misunderstandings. Even a worker-oriented organization such as the YCWM limits participation of Malay workers.

This racial boundary is even more obvious in Weld Quay and vicinity where many other informal associations are found. The temples and shrines, clan associations, traders' communities, and guilds provide some degree of cohesion to the community. The clan associations and guilds used to be the mediators for workers in the area during misunderstandings and disputes. Of late, however, there seems to be a shift in attention away from the socioeconomic problems of the community to issues with wider perspectives. Questions concerning Chinese eduction and culture take precedence over socioeconomic problems. Philanthropic works, scholarships, and the like are still available, but they are considered less important. Thus, it seems as if workers are deprived of yet another avenue of support and opportunity for participation.

On the other hand, there also seems to be an increase in the number of organizations and activities. The mushrooming Buddhist associations, for example, have extended their scope of activities from religious education and information dissemination to include night classes, sports and recreation, and leadership training courses. Other groups, such as the old boys' associations, *chingay* clubs, lion dance groups, and soccer teams, may be taking over the role of the clan associations by providing an identity for their members.

Unless the barriers are removed, workers have little opportunity for active participation except in worker-oriented organizations. Again, this latter group is also constrained by its objectives to perform only specified activities. Trade unions are preoccupied with collective bargaining and wage negotiations. They may not, therefore, devote enough attention to other issues, such as occupational health hazards in the workplace and the social problems of workers. Conversely, organizations such as the YCWM and Women Workers' Service Centre try to help workers cope with their social problems but are not directly involved with labour negotiations. In addition, both YCWM and the Women Workers' Service Centre have different concepts of the workers' social problems and thus use different approaches in handling situations. The Women Workers' Service Centre basically wishes to help workers make better use of their leisure hours. Accordingly, it provides sewing machines, handicraft tools, and sports equipment. In contrast, YCWM aims to raise the consciousness of the workers to help them understand their role in the whole industrialization process.

Do workers actually participate in these organizations, limited though they may be? A review of the responses from the organizations surveyed indicates that, apart from the youth and worker-oriented organizations, the majority of members and participants belong to the middle and upper middle income groups. The low rates of participation, however, are not unexpected. The reasons, again, can be traced to the barriers restricting membership within organizations. Of course, other

factors beyond the control of these organizations also prohibit participation of workers.

Let us now turn our attention to the final question — the potential for existing agencies to develop further to meet workers' needs. From the preceding discussion, it is evident that a lack of opportunities exists for workers to participate as "workers." Services and activities are more available if workers join organizations as youths, if they are females, or if they join as members of the community.

Provision of Services: The Role of Factories

Table 20 lists the facilities/amenities and services provided by the 50 factories surveyed. The list is subdivided into those facilities/services that might be considered as basic or required by law in the operation of a modern formal enterprise, recreational and thus useful in promoting company spirit, and additional facilities/services that are not required by law, generally, nor expected of factories, normally, because they require additional equipment, personnel, or factory space.

Table 20. Provision of facilities and services by paid-up capital and number of workers employed by factories.

	Paid-up capital of more than MYR 1 million		Paid-up capital of less than MYR 1 million	
Facility/service	More than 100 workers (26)	Less than 100 workers (9)	More than 100 workers (10)	Less than 100 workers (5)
Basic				
Toilet	26	9	10	5
Canteen	25	5	7	2
Locker	23	7	8	2
Telephone	22	9	9	4
Protective devices	24	7	8	4
Clinic (outside)	24	9	9	3
Recreational				
Sports/games	24	7	6	1
Parties/dinners	18	6	7	1
Picnics/outings	18	8	7	2
Talent time/show time	15	5	5	—
Movies/video	4	2	2	—
Tours	3	—	—	—
Additional				
Piped-in music	6	—	3	—
Rest room	15	5	5	2
Prayer room	12	3	4	—
Library	8	2	3	—
Company shop	5	—	2	—
Company hostel	8	1	3	1
Free transport	22	6	8	1
Free uniform	21	7	8	1
Educational programs	14	2	7	—
Newsletter	3	—	2	—
Counseling	20	4	6	1
Clinic (in-house)	16	—	4	—

Notes: (1) Malaysian ringgit (MYR) 2.20 = United States dollar (USD) 1. (2) Numbers in parentheses indicate number of industries in this category.

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Basic Services and Amenities

The basic facilities/amenities listed in Table 20 are usually provided by most factories. If these items are not provided, it is usually only in the non-FTZ factories. Most factories that provide canteen facilities claim that their arrangements with the food caterers concerned ensure that the food prices charged will be reduced. In all cases, caterers are not charged rent.

Services and Benefits Necessitating Additional Finances, Personnel, and Space

It is mainly the electronics factories in the Bayan Lepas FTZ that provide the bulk of additional (Table 20) facilities/amenities. Other factories that provide such facilities/amenities are also usually located in the Bayan Lepas FTZ. This is probably because of the existence of a "personnel managers' group" in the Bayan Lepas FTZ, a group that brings together representatives of the different factories in the FTZ regardless of the type of industry so that they may exchange ideas on common problems. Consequently, items such as air-conditioned premises (for the equipment), piped-in music, company shop, newsletter, prayer room, library, in-house clinic, and educational programs are most often provided only in Bayan Lepas FTZ factories. It should be pointed out that educational programs include industrial safety classes; health and first-aid classes; family planning instruction; on-the-job training, including year-long stints in mother companies overseas for "star workers" (e.g., Atlas Electronics (M) Ltd and Monolithic Memories (M) Ltd workers were sent to the United States and Hitachi Semiconductor (M) Ltd workers were sent to Japan); and even religious classes.

Another additional facility offered that deserves comment is the company hostel. By and large, few factories, again regardless of location or type, administer company hostels. Where they do, however, they usually cater to recent out-of-town female recruits, e.g., the textile companies Pentex Ltd, Allied Malaysian Textile Ltd, and Woodard Textiles Mills Ltd provide free housing for as many as 433 women and 29 men, or approximately one-third of their workers. Usually, privately-owned houses are rented by the company for this purpose, although in the case of Allied Malaysian Textile Ltd, such free housing is provided within the premises.

Often, however, a company rents houses from individuals who would generally be reluctant to rent out their houses to a group of workers, charges the worker a nominal fee, and subsidizes the rent. The electronics factories Hitachi Semiconductor (M) Ltd and Monolithic Memories (M) Ltd provide housing for 225 and 100 female workers respectively. Hitachi charges its workers, who share a total of eight houses (i.e., 28 workers to a house), MYR 420 per household each month, whereas Monolithic Memories (M) Ltd charges each of its workers MYR 25. Penging Tex Ltd and Eastern Garment Manufacturing Ltd, two textile factories in the Bayan Lepas FTZ, provide housing for 100 female out-of-town workers each and charge them MYR 10/month. A few other factories also provide housing but to fewer workers and at higher rates.

In addition to renting houses for their workers, companies generally provide them with beds, cupboards and lockers, dining and sitting room sets, ceiling fans, irons, and sometimes refrigerators, televisions, newspapers and magazines, and, in the case of the textiles/garments industry, even sewing machines. In all cases, the company pays electricity and water bills. Although these houses might, at times,

have as many as 30 residents, each with a variety of roles, there is much to be said for these company hostels, especially in view of the tight and expensive housing situation in Penang. In this regard, factories, although only 13 of the 50 sampled, render a valuable service to out-of-town female workers. Administering these hostels and providing the educational programs and other amenities/facilities discussed generally requires additional personnel (in-house clinic, educational programs, newsletter), equipment (piped-in music, library), or factory space (prayer room, clinic, library, company shop). From Table 20, it can be seen that free uniforms, free transportation, and counseling are also being provided by a large number of factories in Penang, regardless of location and the type of industry. Most of the factories operating on more than one shift provide free transportation (i.e., buses are hired by the factories on a contract basis to travel particular routes where workers are instructed to wait for them) for their workers. By and large, those factories operating on more than one shift that do not provide free transportation have small numbers of workers, which renders the hiring of buses uneconomical.

Another additional service offered to workers that seems to be offered by all factories regardless of location or type of industry is counseling. Although sufficient data are unavailable, we suspect that it is only in the Bayan Lepas FTZ factories, especially electronics factories, which have large personnel sections, that counseling by trained staff is available. In other cases, so-called "counseling" might actually be provided on an ad hoc basis but not by someone trained for this purpose.

Recreational Activities

Recreational activities are generally organized by most factories regardless of the type of industry or location. However, the scope of these activities varies. Sports/games, for instance, are organized by most factories. This is also true of dinners/parties and picnics/outings, which most factories organize at least once a year. It is only the electronics factories in the Bayan Lepas FTZ, however, that engage in the organization of talent time/show time, movies/video, and, for some, tours. Even with respect to sports/games, it is only among the Bayan Lepas FTZ factories that sports/games are organized regularly and extensively, with factories competing against each other in various leagues or tournaments organized by the Bayan Lepas FTZ personnel managers' group. Other activities include cooking and sewing classes, dance lessons, makeup instruction, and even beauty contests. It has been suggested that the American electronics firms tend to favour the more "modern" social activities, whereas the Japanese firms favour what they consider more "healthy" cultural activities, such as sports and group singing sessions (Lim 1978). In general, the purpose of the exercise is to promote greater company spirit and loyalty.

It is clearly those factories that employ more than 100 workers and with paid-up capital of more than MYR 1 million that provide most of the services and amenities/facilities listed in Table 20. Similarly, those factories employing fewer than 100 workers and with paid-up capital of less than MYR 1 million provide fewer services and amenities.

The Unionization Factor

Table 21 indicates the availability of trade unions by location and type of industry. Of the 50 factories surveyed, only 23 are unionized. More than half of the

Table 21. Availability of trade unions and worker welfare committees by location and type of industry.

Location		Industry		No. of factories unionized	Worker welfare committees[a]
Bayan Lepas FTZ	(19)	Electronics	(12)	1	11
		Textiles/garments	(4)	2	2
		Neither electronics nor textiles/ garments	(3)	—	3
Non-Bayan Lepas FTZ	(5)	Textiles/garments	(3)	3	2
		Neither electronics nor textiles/ garments	(2)	2	1
Non-FTZ	(26)	Textiles/garments	(7)	3	2
		Neither electronics nor textiles/ garments	(19)	12	5
All areas		Electronics	(12)	1	11
		Textiles/garments	(14)	8	6
		Neither electronics nor textiles/ garments	(24)	14	9
Total			50	23	26

Notes: (1) A particular factory may be both unionized and have a worker welfare committee or neither unionized nor have a worker welfare committee. (2) Numbers in parentheses indicate number of industries in this category.

[a] Worker welfare committees refer to management-initiated and sponsored bodies, such as the Joint Consultative Committee and Employees Relations Committee or specific committees concerned with sports and recreation, industrial safety, etc.

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

unionized factories are in non-FTZ areas. It is significant that only three of the 19 Bayan Lepas FTZ factories are unionized.

The table also indicates that slightly more than half of the textiles/garments and other factories samples are unionized. In contrast, only one of the 12 electronics factories surveyed was unionized. Indeed, this was an electrical, not an electronics, factory. In fact, none of the electronics factories in the Bayan Lepas FTZ, or elsewhere in the country, is unionized.

Thus, although the registrar, and more recently the Minister of Labour, announced that they are not against the setting up of an electronics union in the FTZs (provided it is a result of the workers' own initiative), none of the Bayan Lepas FTZ electronics factories has yet become unionized. Indeed, the setting up of a completely new union is no easy task and much depends upon the judgment of the registrar. In addition, management has repeatedly voiced its displeasure against such attempts, e.g., it has been made clear that any worker trying to gain support for the organization of a union within the company's premises may be dismissed. Table 22, which presents the average basic wages of production workers, shows that nonunionized workers receive slightly better basic wages (average minimum of MYR 179.2 and average maximum of MYR 417 per month) than their unionized counterparts (average minimum of MYR 177 and average maximum of MYR 414.5 per month). From the table, it is clear that unionized textile/garment workers generally receive better wages than nonunionized workers. This is true in both FTZ as well as non-FTZ areas. It should be noted, however, that unionized textile/garment workers in the Bayan Lepas FTZ earn better wages than unionized textile/garment workers in the non-Bayan Lepas FTZ or non-FTZ areas. This is in keeping with an earlier observation that Bayan Lepas FTZ factories pay the best wages

Table 22. Average wages of unionized and nonunionized production workers.

Location/industry	Unionized (22)		Nonunionized (28)	
	Average min.	Average max.	Average min.	Average max.
Bayan Lepas FTZ				
Electronics	N/A(1)	N/A(1)	188.0(11)	440.0(11)
Textiles/garments	201.5(2)	465.4(2)	173.5(2)	375.0(2)
Neither electronics nor textiles/garments	—	—	183.0(3)	250.0(1)
All industries	201.5(3)	465.4(3)	185.3(16)	415.4(13)
Non-Bayan Lepas FTZ				
Textiles/garments	178.2(3)	367.8(3)	—	—
Neither electronics nor textiles/garments	—	—	148.0(2)	338.0(2)
All industries	178.2(3)	367.8(3)	148.0(2)	338.0(2)
Non-FTZ				
Textiles/garments	154.7(4)	197.6(2)	128.0(3)	195.0(1)
Neither electronics nor textiles/garments	180.0(12)	467.4(9)	197.0(7)	517.0(4)
All industries	173.7(16)	418.0(11)	176.3(10)	452.6(5)
All areas				
Electronics	N/A(1)	N/A(1)	188.0(11)	440.0(10)
Textiles/garments	173.0(9)	347.0(7)	146.0(5)	315.0(3)
Neither electronics nor textiles/garments	180.0(12)	467.0(9)	185.0(12)	427.8(7)
All industries	177.0(22)	414.5(17)	179.2(28)	417.0(20)

Notes: Figures for min. and max. salaries of one electronics factory were unavailable. Figures for max. salaries of several others were also unavailable. Numbers in parentheses indicate number of industries in this category.

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

overall. Hence, it is not incorrect to maintain that, apart from the electronics factories, unionized workers generally receive better wages. In addition, those working in the Bayan Lepas FTZ generally earn more than those in non-Bayan Lepas FTZ or non-FTZ areas.

In place of trade unions, electronics factories in the Bayan Lepas FTZ generally have worker welfare committees that are initiated and sponsored by management but involve participation on the part of the workers. The activities these committees are charged with are usually sports/games and the organization of other recreational activities (picnics/outings and parties). In the case of the Bayan Lepas FTZ factories, however, the activities might also include handling grievances, industrial safety, increasing productivity (through quality control), etc. In the Bayan Lepas FTZ, these committees are usually called "joint consultative committees" or "employee relations committees." In this study, 26 of the 50 factories surveyed have worker welfare committees. Predictably, the highest occurrence was among the Bayan Lepas FTZ factories (16 of 19) and the lowest among the non-FTZ factories (7 of 26). In the non-Bayan Lepas FTZ three of the five factories surveyed had worker welfare committees.

Clearly, it is the foreign-owned factories, or at least foreign-influenced joint ventures, that have provided the most encouragement for the formation of worker welfare committees. It is also these larger foreign-owned concerns, generally located in the Bayan Lepas FTZ, that pay the highest wages, give the most attractive allowances, and provide the most varied and comprehensive services and amenities to workers, all of which promotes company loyalty and spirit. It is not a coincidence, therefore, that these are also the factories that are least often unionized.

At present, Bayan Lepas FTZ factories, especially electronics factories, have succeeded in avoiding the necessity of forming trade unions. Where workers are already unionized, the existence of worker welfare committees allows management to respond to workers' demands through nonunion channels. In this case, it may be argued that unions, which in the Malaysian context are essentially economistic, are becoming increasingly redundant. The success of this arrangement, however, is largely dependent upon management's ability to maintain the wages, allowances, and other services/facilities they currently offer and increase them in accordance with inflation and rising expectations to maintain job satisfaction.

There is evidence to suggest that this has not been the case, especially in times of recession, and electronics is a highly cyclical industry that experiences a downward trend every 2–3 years (Lim 1978). In 1975, for instance, three Bayan Lepas FTZ electronics factories were adversely affected to the point that they closed down completely. By mid to late 1976, an upward trend in the industry was recorded and there was massive new hiring again. However, by January 1977 output dropped again and a large-scale reduction in labour followed. In the Bayan Lepas FTZ alone, some 1000 workers were affected and several factories adopted four-day work weeks (Business Times, 21 January 1977, cited in Lim 1978; Ariffin 1980). In 1980, the demands of Bayan Lepas FTZ workers for higher wages (in line with increases being given to government sector workers) were not entertained until 10 workers went on a wildcat strike.

Recently, it has been charged that workers are facing a form of "disguised retrenchment" as a result of the current (1982/1983) recession. To avoid paying retrenchment benefits as required by law, these daily-rated workers were allowed to work only 3 or 4 days a week or asked to go on extended unpaid leave. Many of the workers, unable to survive on the reduced income, were forced to resign. Because the "miniunions" are ultimately controlled by management, they were not able to represent workers' interests adequately during such times.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that it was necessary to promote company loyalty through games, picnics, and the like, because of the low morale resulting from such insecurity within the industry, and to continue to hire female workers who were considered to be more appropriate for the purposes of achieving the company's goal of nonunionized management.

Utilization of Factory Services and Participation in Nonwork Activities

Workers' Utilization of Company Services and Facilities

Utilization of a company's services and facilities is determined by workers' awareness of and employers' ability to provide such services. Services and facilities in the informal sector are far less in number and variety than those available within the formal sector, although there are wide differences in the types of services/facilities provided, some of which are comparable, e.g., instead of the piped-in music provided in large multinational corporations, small-scale industries usually broadcast stories in series and other types of programs from the radio. As this is based on monthly rentals, workers can tune in programs throughout the day while they work.

Tables 23 and 24 indicate formal sector workers' awareness of existing facilities within the company and the frequency of usage respectively. The basic factory

Table 23. Awareness of company-provided services in the formal sector.

Service	Awareness	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Clinic (outside)	98.6	1.4
Canteen	97.4	2.6
Transport	93.6	6.4
Telephone	90.7	9.3
Locker	90.5	9.5
Medical	87.7	12.3
Sports/recreation	86.0	14.0
Uniform	85.8	14.2
Clinic (in house)	84.8	15.2
Shift allowance	72.2	2.8
Cola	70.4	29.6
Protective devices	70.2	29.8
Prayer room	62.6	37.4
Company hostel	50.2	49.8
Library	45.7	54.3
Food	38.1	61.9
Rest room	31.5	68.5
Company shop	26.3	73.7
Counseling	25.4	74.6
Dental	23.5	76.5
Education	22.5	77.5
Cooperative	9.7	90.3
Housing subsidy	4.5	95.5
Others	6.9	93.1

Table 24. Frequency of usage of company-provided services in the formal sector.

Service	Frequency of usage (%)			
	Very frequently	Frequently	Not so frequently	Never
Transport	58.0	39.5	1.8	0.7
Clothing	56.6	39.8	1.7	1.9
Cola	52.9	40.8	5.7	0.6
Shift allowance	41.1	52.0	4.3	2.6
Canteen	46.2	42.8	8.8	2.2
Food	35.4	45.3	13.0	6.3
Locker	36.6	39.0	8.4	16.0
Protective devices	21.0	23.6	7.4	48.0
Cooperative	9.8	17.0	22.0	51.2
Library	6.2	37.8	36.3	19.7
Prayer room	6.1	24.2	23.5	46.2
Company shop	4.5	28.8	46.8	19.9
Company hostel	3.8	13.2	3.8	79.2
Rest room	2.3	16.5	42.1	39.1
Medical	2.2	30.4	11.4	56.0
Education	2.1	2.1	3.2	92.6
Dental	1.0	2.0	25.3	71.7
Clinic (in house)	0.8	12.8	74.3	12.1
Sports/recreation	0.6	5.8	14.3	78.3
Clinic (outside)	0.5	6.7	72.9	19.9
Telephone	0.3	4.4	46.5	48.8
Housing subsidy	0.0	15.8	5.3	78.9
Counseling	0.0	8.4	18.7	72.9
Others	20.7	13.8	13.8	51.7

infrastructure and facilities, e.g., clinic, canteen, and uniform, were known to at least 85% of the workers interviewed. It should be noted, however, that the awareness of the workers can only be determined accurately through correlation with the factory services survey. Awareness of welfare services, such as counseling (25.4%) and education (22.5%), are significantly lower. Housing subsidies are rarely available (4.5%), although company hostels (in which workers have to pay for accommodation) are more widely known (50.2%). This is probably because most of the larger companies in the free trade zone provide company hostels. In fact, this is used as a fringe benefit to attract workers in the company's recruitment program. Comparing workers' awareness of the facilities/services available within the electronics and garment industries, Table 25 reveals that workers in the electronics industry are, generally, more aware of the services/facilities available to them. This is most easily explained by the fact that electronics companies generally provide more facilities and services.

The most frequently and extensively used facility is transport. This is to be expected as almost all formal sector workers use the company's *bas kilang* to travel to work. Even though sports/recreation ranks high in terms of workers' awareness of this service, 78.3% of these workers have never made use of this service at all. On the other hand, although libraries and company shops are not widely available, they are used extensively by those workers who have access to them (>80%). Educational services are poorly utilized, with 92% of workers never having made use of them. The same is true for counseling services.

Table 25. Workers' awareness of services provided according to the type of industry.

	Awareness (%)			
	Yes		No	
Service	Electronics	Garment	Electronics	Garment
Canteen	99.0	97.2	1.0	2.8
Rest room	37.3	18.7	62.7	81.3
Library	64.8	0.9	35.3	99.1
Sports	93.9	68.2	6.1	31.8
Music	77.0	3.7	23.1	96.3
Prayer room	71.5	49.5	28.5	50.5
In-house clinic	87.8	90.7	12.2	9.4
Outside clinic	99.3	97.2	0.7	2.8
Transport	98.0	87.9	2.0	12.2
Telephone	91.9	90.7	8.1	9.4
Counseling	26.1	27.1	73.9	72.9
Uniform	99.7	50.5	0.3	49.5
Protective devices	82.7	39.3	17.3	60.8
Company shop	37.3	0.9	62.7	99.1
Cooperatives	13.9	0	86.1	100
Hostel	41.4	83.2	58.6	16.8
Housing subsidy	3.1	9.4	97.0	90.7
Locker	97.6	72.9	2.4	27.1
Cola	72.9	66.4	27.1	33.6
Food	45.8	20.6	54.2	79.4
Education	30.9	3.7	69.2	96.3
Medical	91.9	82.2	7.8	17.6
Dental	28.8	12.2	71.2	87.9
Shift	84.1	45.8	15.9	54.2
Other	7.8	5.6	92.2	94.4

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 26. Facilities/services provided by informal sector employers.

Facility/service	Availability	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Employee provident fund	96.2	0.8
Food	65.7	34.3
Telephone	59.1	41.0
Music	43.3	56.7
Medical benefit	41.9	58.1
SOCSO	36.7	63.3
Protective devices	27.6	72.4
Lodging	21.9	78.1
Transport	8.1	91.9
Work clothes	8.1	91.9
Cola	1.9	88.1

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Services provided by the employer in the informal sector are fewer than in the formal sector (Table 26). Programs that cater to the social and educational needs of workers do not exist. The most common benefit is the employment provident fund. This is followed by food (available to 65.7% of the workers surveyed), which often takes the form of a main meal (i.e., lunch) or some drinks and light refreshments during the day. Often, this food is prepared by the employer's wife. The telephone made available is the business telephone and is, therefore, to be used only for urgent matters. Rebroadcasting of stories and musical programs, a common household service for working class families, is available throughout the day in the various Chinese dialects to entertain workers. Interestingly enough, at least one-third of the workers (36.7%) interviewed have social security benefits. Although it is required by law that employers who employ five and more workers, at a salary of less than MYR 400, make contributions for the employee, this law is often violated, especially among backyard industries where enforcement is very low. As most of the informal sector workers are locals, residing near the industries, transportation is not a necessary service (only 8.1% have it). Similarly, lodging is provided to only 21.9% of the workers. Given the informal setup and nature of the informal sector, work clothes/uniforms are also not necessary. Cola (living allowance), a fringe benefit for daily-rated workers in the formal sector, is only enjoyed by 1.9% of the informal sector workers interviewed.

Workers' Utilization of Their Time Outside of Work

The formal sector workers surveyed in this study were predominantly shift workers who faced the problem of not having regular free time to participate in organized activities even if they wanted to. Generally, informal sector workers do not work shifts; hence, their hours are more regular, although their working hours are sometimes longer. The availability of free time, the effects of one's job, and peer and family pressure are among the many factors affecting one's use of free time and participation in other activities.

For formal sector workers who live with their fellow workers, housework takes up a good part of their spare time. Informal sector workers, on the other hand, because they reside at home, share the housework so that there is more time for social visits and interaction with friends. This is substantiated by the fact that 51% of the informal sector workers surveyed revealed that they get together with their workmates after work (Table 27). They get together to take part in organized

Table 27. Percentage of informal sector workers getting together with workmates after work hours.

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	25.7	25.3	51.0
No	27.6	17.1	44.7
No workmates	2.4	1.9	4.3

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 28. Activities workers participate in when they get together.

Type of activity	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Unorganized ad hoc activities	44.4	42.6	87
Self-organized outdoor activities with friends	4.0	9.0	13

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

informal activities; ad hoc outings such as movies, shopping, and chatting; and sports and games (Table 28). It is interesting to note that there is no significant difference between the sexes in terms of whether they get together after work and in the type of activities they take part in. This also appears to be the case when other variables are considered, such as ethnic background, age, and marital status.

The pattern of responses shown in Table 28 indicates the young workers' preference for unstructured, rather than structured, activities. Participation in organized activities (i.e., club/society activities, company-organized activities, and self-organized sports/games with friends) is low. This is particularly true for informal sector workers, with only 18.6% of those surveyed having been involved in any organized activities. Of the organized activities, self-organized sports/games with friends rank high, whereas participation in company activities is nil. Twenty-four percent of the formal sector workers surveyed have been involved in organized activities. Here again, organized sports and games with friends take up more time than club/society activities and company activities.

Participation in Company Activities

As established above, workers' participation in company-organized activities is generally low for formal sector workers and nil for informal sector workers. Although workers in the informal sector acknowledge that their employers provide side benefits, largely in the form of meals, the workers do not perceive this as a specific activity organized by their employers. Apart from eating together, there are few other company-organized activities for employees in the informal sector (Table 29).

Table 30 indicates the extent to which formal sector workers participate in company-organized activities. The most widely provided activities are sports and

Table 29. Activities arranged by informal sector employers.

Activity	Employee participation (%)
Eating together	92.9
Recreation	5.7
Handicrafts	0.7
Don't know	0.7

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

Table 30. Participation of formal sector workers in company activities.

Activity	Participation (%)	
	Yes	Never
Party/dinner	68.5	41.5
Library	80.3	19.7
Movie	59.4	40.6
Others	58.8	41.2
Picnics/outings	47.6	54.4
Industrial safety	33.4	76.6
Health education	28.6	71.4
Talent time	25.3	74.7
Sports and games	20.2	79.8
Cooking classes	14.6	85.4
Family planning	13.3	86.7
Career development	7.6	92.3
Language classes	6.0	94.0
Leadership training	4.8	95.2
Other hobbies	4.8	95.2
Beauty classes	3.5	96.5

Table 31. Frequency of participation of formal sector workers in company activities.

Activity	Frequency of participation (%)			
	More than once a month	Monthly	Yearly	Total
Party/dinner	0	0.4	98.6	214
Library	80.8	14.6	4.6	151
Movie	34.6	22.1	43.3	104
Picnics/outings	1.4	8.9	89.7	146
Industrial safety	4.6	27.3	68.1	22
Health education	0	14.7	83.3	6
Talent time	0	0.2	98.8	84
Sports and games	32.9	14.5	52.6	76
Cooking classes	28.5	42.9	28.6	7
Family planning	26.7	33.3	40.0	15
Career development	100.0	0	0	1
Language classes	40.0	40.0	20.0	5
Leadership training	0	33.3	66.7	3
Other hobbies	33.3	0	66.7	3
Beauty classes	0	0	100.0	2

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

games, beauty classes, parties/dinners, and talent time. This reflects the kinds of programs emphasized and promoted by employers. However, the activities in which workers participate most often are parties/dinners, the library, picnics/outings, and movies (Table 31). This again confirms an earlier observation regarding the lack of participation in organized and structured activities. It appears that there is greater participation in single activities/events that do not require continuous input or effort. The response pattern also shows very poor participation in programs in which one can learn and in which regular participation is, therefore, required.

The greatest participation is in yearly events, such as annual parties/dinners, talent time, and picnics and outings. Twenty-five percent of the participation is on a monthly or more than once a month basis, 11% on a monthly basis, and 64% on an

annual basis. It should be noted, however, that two-thirds of those surveyed have never participated in company activities.

There is not much difference between Weld Quay and Bayan Baru workers in terms of frequency of participation except that a higher proportion (by around 10%) of Bayan Baru workers have never participated in company activities. Whatever participation exists, it is largely in the form of passive recipients, as only 20 of the workers surveyed (2.8%) are involved as organizers or committee members of their factory's special projects committees.

Participation in Organizations

As noted earlier, participation in society/club activities takes up very little of the workers' time and only a small number of workers are involved. This was confirmed by the results of the survey, which found that organization memberships of both formal and informal sector workers were very low, 19.4 and 20.5% respectively (Table 32).

In the formal sector, women predominantly take out memberships in organizations, whereas in the informal sector it is the men who participate in outside organizations. This fact could be biased, however, by the nature of the study sample. It is also the younger workers who make up more than two-thirds of the total membership of organizations for both sectors.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that there are distinct differences between the formal and informal sectors with respect to the kinds of organizations that workers join. Youth organizations (largely through the various branches of the 4-B youth club and other youth clubs of the Malaysian Youth Council) are the organizations most often joined by young workers (40.2%) in the formal sector. This is followed by political parties, particularly the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and United Malays National Organization (UMNO), in which the workers participate in the youth wing. In many respects, most of the activities are youth oriented and there is always an overlap of the membership and leadership with the 4-B youth clubs. Among informal sector workers, religious (32.6%) and sports-oriented (23.3%) organizations predominate.

Participation in the various types of organizations within these two sectors is very much part of the social/community structure of these sectors, which overlap with respect to ethnic background and location. Formal sector workers are predominantly from Bayan Baru, where the Malay component resides. Informal sector workers are exclusively from Weld Quay, a traditional Chinese community. Within the Malay community, youth organizations constitute a basic component of the community structure. In Weld Quay, the Chinese social structure prevails. Each local community almost always has its own temple and deity, and it is around this nucleus that most of the community activities and affairs revolve. Thus, it is not surprising to find that many of the young workers are also involved. For those who

Table 32. Membership in organizations.

Membership	Formal sector (%)	Informal sector (%)
Yes	19.4	20.5
No	80.6	79.5

Source: Urban services survey conducted in 1982.

seek alternative affiliations, these are largely in the form of sports activities with their peers.

Summary

The facilities provided by formal and informal sector employers vary greatly, although they are comparable. Workers' awareness and utilization of the company infrastructure and basic facilities are good. Other types of services that cater more to the overall development and education of workers are very poor. This is due, in large part, to the fact that such services are generally not provided.

Most of the workers spend their free time involved in unstructured forms of relaxation at home and with their peers. Participation in organized activities is limited to nonexistent. Hence, the participation that exists is largely in the form of passive recipients or benefactors of the service or program.

The Need for Worker-Oriented Participatory Urban Services: The Young Workers Education Project (YWEP)

Overall, there is clearly a gap in meeting the needs of young workers as workers. State-sponsored programs tended to be highly specific and client oriented, and, as far as the problems of workers are concerned, are oriented mainly toward promoting a stable and disciplined labour force. There are signs that the situation is changing, that new and innovative programs are being considered, if not already implemented. It seems, however, that governmental agencies are merely trying to catch up with the situation, and have not been able to anticipate some of the problems being faced by young workers. Factories, on the other hand, cannot be expected to offer much unless it is in their interest from the point of view of worker productivity and competition with other factories for the services of these workers. Thus, there is a clear need for new, more participatory worker-oriented nongovernmental organizations to play a more positive role in solving the problems of this new work force.

The YWEP is a case study in Malaysia that was chosen as an example of a participatory urban services program focusing on the specific needs of a group of newly arrived urban labourers. The project was first undertaken as a counseling endeavour to provide assistance to the young workers in adjusting to their new living and working environment. The project then took on a community-oriented education role in its second stage and later became a more worker-oriented labour education project incorporating many of the techniques of participatory research.

The project demonstrates the possibility of such activities when adequate support is available through the mobilization of governmental, community, and other resources. The process of creating a viable participatory arrangement, however, is a difficult and lengthy process, given the transient nature and work regime of the new labour force. An appropriate model can be developed on the basis of a sound understanding of the societal processes operating under the given situation. In this respect, the YWEP, through its programs and participatory research techniques, has demonstrated a capacity to adapt and learn from the experience of mobilizing a segment of the young workers toward understanding their situation and searching for appropriate solutions to their problems.

Conclusions and Implications for Policy

It is evident that the provision of services for young workers, a group that has been newly inserted into the urban labour force as a result of rapid industrialization and urbanization in Penang over the last decade, has not been forthcoming at a commensurate level, nor consistent with the specific needs of the young workers. The rapid emergence of this new sector of the labour force, fed to a large extent by the in-migration of young rural school dropouts, mostly female, into a new environment placed considerable pressure on existing urban services and facilities, such as housing, transport, and other amenities, and created a need to cater to their specific needs. Such services included welfare and counseling, as well as those related to their work situation and career and personal development. The response of government agencies, new factories, the community, and existing nongovernmental organizations has been variable and on the whole does not constitute a satisfactory solution to the problems of young workers in the short or long term.

There are significant differences in the problems and needs of workers between those recruited from the resident sector of the Penang economy and employed in informal sector establishments and those who are absorbed directly into the corporate sector, particularly in the free trade zones. The majority of workers in the formal sector come from other areas in the state of Penang. A major consideration in providing services for these young rural migrant workers is the level of community resources being utilized by them in the corporate sector. Their integration into the new residential environment is much more difficult than for those in the informal sector who were born in Penang. This difference, as perceived by the workers, is also reflected in the work situation in the two sectors. There is a greater affinity between informal sector workers and their employers (who are often relatives) than between formal sector workers and their corporate employers. The ethnic difference, between the predominantly Malay workers in the corporate sector who were originally from rural areas and the Chinese workers in both the formal and informal sectors who had been living in the urban area for generations, is a critical issue not only in terms of achieving the goals of the New Economic Policy, but also in terms of meeting the needs and solving the problems of these workers.

The differences in attitudes toward work space, work load, and relationships with employers and supervisors, and in disciplinary and grievance procedures also vary not only between sector, industry, and ethnic background, but also according to sex, age, level of education, and level of pay of workers. The types of facilities and services provided through companies vary between industries, particularly between the electronics and textiles industries and other factories in the formal sector.

In contrast with the problems and needs of the young workers, the basic orientation of factory services and facilities is toward creating a working environment conducive to productivity and stability. There are also systematic variations in the utilization of company facilities and the level of participation encouraged and actually occurring in the factories. The results of the survey show that there is little interest and scope for expanding these activities and the facilities and services provided unless a more concerted effort is put forward by the companies with respect to organizing the activities/facilities. Because companies will not do this on their own initiative, the government may have to intervene more directly and forcefully if there is to be any significant effect.

Government programs, unfortunately, do not bear directly on the problems and needs of the young workers. Various legislation and activities conducted through government departments and agencies are either too generalized, unfocused vis-à-vis workers' problems, or ad hoc and specific to particular clientele groups without sufficient comprehensiveness and concern for these young workers as a group. Trade union activities would certainly cater more directly to the issues confronting young workers, but because of the government's policy of discouraging union activity among workers, particularly those in the electronics sector, and the fact that these activities tend to be focused on employment issues and other rights of workers, the more educational and developmental aspects of workers' problems are neglected.

It is to fill these gaps, therefore, left by the inability of governmental bodies, corporations, and unions as presently organized to comprehend the entire range of problems and needs of the new labour force, that one could turn to nongovernmental organizations to seek ways of redressing the situation. In this area, again from the survey, it was found that existing associations and clubs have not oriented their activities toward workers as workers, nor have they been able, perhaps as a result of this, to attract workers to become members. Most programs of existing nongovernmental organizations are either single-issue oriented or generalized to cover a wide range of activities. The lack of participation on the part of young workers in these organizations may be due less to these factors than to the nature of their work situation (e.g., shiftwork) or the general atmosphere.

Given this situation, much needs to be done not only to promote the young workers' welfare and facilitate their adaptation to the new urban and work situation, but also to contribute to their development as workers, who are aware of their rights and duties, and as thoughtful citizens. In this regard, the emergence of the new youthful labour force must be seen as part of the radical social change that has been occurring within the country over the last 10–15 years. Specifically, with respect to the provision of urban services, whether through governmental, corporate, or nongovernmental and self-help community-oriented organizations, a number of recommendations may be proposed to meet the present needs of workers and the long-term goal of achieving balanced social development of the country's industrial labour force.

Demographically, the young industrial work force that has developed over this period has been undergoing a process of maturing, not only through growing older, but also through marrying and forming families of their own and increasingly loosening their ties with the rural areas. If these workers remain in the labour force, and in the FTZs or other urban industrial areas, then the formation of new family structures and a more stable working population will put new pressures on the provision of urban services, i.e., services that normally result from increased urbanization, such as housing. The situation is aggravated further by the growth of new families that need not only housing but also facilities such as day-care centres, family services, and better maternity-leave arrangements. What this means is that the young workers are becoming a stabilized urban population, thus making demands on the urban economy as a whole.

For the industrial corporations, accustomed to the ready availability of a cheap and well-disciplined pool of labour, this maturing work force and increasing competition for labour as a result of an increase in the number of new factories in the FTZs and outside has necessitated adapting to a situation of labour shortages and

rising labour costs. This has resulted in some consideration being given to converting to more capital-intensive technology, as some factories have done, reducing the labour force to cut down on increased fixed costs due to higher nonbasic wage payments, and locating new factories or expanded facilities in other industrial estates nearer to sources of rural labour.

The withdrawal of young females from the labour force upon marriage constitutes a natural device for reducing the work force of many corporations. For factories in the Penang area, however, this has created a problem because it is becoming increasingly difficult to replace these women with younger recruits as the labour supply continues to dry up. A maturing labour force is also harder to manage and new demands may arise through trade union activities. This withdrawal of young newly married women from the work force may also add to the pressures on a young family in terms of finding additional sources of income to maintain their standard of living and life-style. The problems created depend to a large extent on the marriage market and who they marry, as well as the industrial situation as a whole. For the Malays, this particular urbanization process has been unbalanced, being female dominated. Unlike the urban Chinese population, with its even sex balance, there may well be a deficit of Malay males for these girls who are in the most marriageable age group of 17–25 years. For workers in the informal sector, the situation is more manageable; they are more integrated into the local community and, therefore, can draw on community resources for family support, e.g., for child care, or they may work in their own homes under putting-out arrangements and still be able to perform their domestic chores.

From the corporation's point of view, there would seem to be little scope to expand the services and facilities offered to workers, except in an effort to increase worker productivity, in pursuing an image, or in competing with other factories for the increasingly limited supply of labour. It is unlikely that the corporate sector will take steps to improve the position of young workers unless induced to do so through government incentives or legislation. Such inducements include, for instance, tax rebates for a skills development fund, land for the construction of worker child-care centres, and tax incentives for worker housing. Companies may also introduce profit-sharing arrangements with their workers or be encouraged to transfer technology to subsidiaries that are run and managed by their own employees on a subcontracting basis.

Failing this, the factories may be forced, through progressive legislation, to implement better terms for their workers, such as social contributions, minimum-wage legislation, better accident and health compensation, and the provision of mandatory social facilities. In this manner, the government can make the companies recognize that there are social costs and obligations to private-sector activities, and that the corporations must share in the responsibility and not transfer it to other institutions, such as the family, government, or local community. The pursuit of private profitability must be tempered with social accountability, which may be brought about by appropriate legislation, social auditing, persuasion, or public pressure.

It is clear that government has a big role to play in achieving the level of services for the new work force that has been created by its industrialization program. However, so far the government's contribution record in this regard has been dismal. Given the ad hoc, nondirected, and circumscribed nature of government programs and activities undertaken through its various agencies, there is an

obvious need to integrate the activities of these governmental bodies in some comprehensive fashion to provide some focus and direction in the solution of young workers' problems and issues.

This may be accomplished through appropriate legislation and proper enforcement, as well as through a reorientation of programs. There is a need, for instance, to strengthen legislation and the ordinance on occupational health, including the right of access to information on relevant hazards. Benefits under existing social security legislation, including retrenchment benefits, security of tenure, and adequate health compensation, have to be expanded and effectively enforced. There must also be adequate means to control exploitation in shift work, together with appropriate compensation. There should also be regulations to ensure the provision of services, especially for married workers, including nurseries, and maternity and paternity leave, etc. Legislation must also be introduced to induce factories to contribute to the upkeep of public facilities, such as factory roads, recreational facilities in the neighbourhood, proper waste disposal, and so on. Other legislative provisions that may need review would include promotion of trade union activities under the Trade Union Act, the mandatory requirement for companies to make arrangements for labour education to be conducted in the factories by the Labour Department, and improvement of industrial relations programs and arbitration procedures. Finally, in this legislative area, the government may have to review its investment incentive schemes to incorporate the more progressive features mentioned above.

In the area of programs, governmental bodies should introduce new and innovative activities that are geared more directly to the needs of young workers, as well as to improve implementation of existing functions and programs. This includes improving the role of the Labour Department in the area of labour education; expanding the size and range of worker benefits, including hospitalization and rehabilitation; and providing counseling programs for female workers. Government, through the appropriate bodies, should also consider establishing a skills development fund with mandatory contributions from the factories, introduce special retraining programs for retrenched workers, and undertake a more concerted effort toward worker housing. In addition, ways and means must be found to improve labour exchanges to smooth the operation of the local labour market; promote the development of alternative worker organizations, such as worker cooperatives; and encourage the growth of nongovernmental organizations, such as a workers' legal aid bureau, and other worker-oriented self-help activities.

With regard to the latter subject, there appears to be an appropriate role for nongovernmental organizations in providing services to young workers, especially through self-help community-oriented programs that cater more directly to their specific needs and problems. Because of the wide gaps in this area left by companies and government agencies, nongovernmental organizations should be given encouragement and support to fulfill this function. Such organizations may be able to run worker cooperatives, provide legal aid service, undertake paralegal and labour education training, offer normal counseling and crisis advice, and facilitate utilization of the media in inducing greater responsiveness of the community to the problems and needs of young workers. These nongovernmental organizations would also be able to undertake activities that can integrate the workers more effectively into the local community, especially in the case of formal sector workers, perhaps to the same level as that achieved in the informal sector. Socially integrative programs, such as community kitchens, and community education projects, such as

kindergartens, would contribute not only to greater rapport between the new workers and the resident communities, but also to a heightened awareness among workers of their place in society. Through mobilization of community resources and expertise, such as from area universities, these nongovernmental organizations would be able not only to extend the material limits of their contributions, but also to contribute to a whole process of community education.

From the point of view of the young workers, the impact of these activities would be more effective in the long run if the workers participate actively in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the activities of the nongovernmental organizations. Such worker organizations would lead to greater self-awareness and a sense of self-control and independence, which would add considerably to the workers' overall development and contribution to society.

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Young Workers Education Project: Development of a Participatory Urban Services Centre in Penang, Malaysia

Chan Lean Heng

The previous chapter discussed industrialization and labour force formation in Penang, highlighting the situation of the young workers and giving an overview of existing services provided by the state, factories, and nongovernmental sector. It illustrated the diverse problems, needs, and services for workers that have not yet been tackled. This situation has been further aggravated by the limiting of trade union activities. Although a wide range of activities and services is delivered by the government, corporate, and nongovernment sectors, few of the activities cater specifically to the needs of the newly emergent youthful labour force. In particular, little is provided in the area of participatory services or programs that help equip workers to deal with their situations, protect their rights, and develop their own organizations. Indeed, it has been noted that many existing services are provided solely to increase workers' productivity. Workers have been lulled into this situation and are encouraged to perpetuate a disciplined, harmonious working environment. Most existing services cater to the young workers only in an ad hoc manner. These services are really meant for other target groups. They are delivered to these groups who receive them passively, as mere beneficiaries. There is no attempt to encourage the workers to be self-motivating.

For participatory organizations to work effectively, they will have to be initiated and controlled by the workers. This can only be accomplished by creating greater awareness among workers of their general position in the larger social order. Such an orientation points to the need for services that not only meet immediate needs but also provide a forum for organizing and advocating change. In this context, therefore, the short-term objectives become the means through which specific programs and activities are conducted to realize long-term goals.

This chapter presents the experience of a nongovernmental organization, the Young Workers Education Project (YWEP), which was designed to help workers in Malaysia's first free trade zone — the Bayan Lepas free trade zone in Penang.

History and Development of the Project

The history of the project will be discussed according to its different phases and models of implementation. As shown in Table 1, there have been significant changes in the orientation, focus, approach, and methodology of the project. However, the underlying educational thrust and overall concern for workers' welfare and development has remained. The changes and reformulations for each phase

Table 1. Phases and models of implementation of the Young Workers (Community) Education Project.

Period	Funding source	Implementation agency	Implementation model/role of project	Reference
1974–1975 (6 months)	FFPAM	FFPAM	Research	Blake (1979)
1975–1976 (12 months)	IPPF	FFPAM	Professional counseling community service	Blake (1977)
1977–1979 (30 months)	IPPF and UNICEF	FFPAM	Multipurpose community service	YWCEP (1977)
July 1977–March 1978				
April 1978–December 1979			Workers' activity centre for formation of self-help groups	Chan (1979b)
1981–1984	UN Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women	USM and Family Planning Association		Vengadasalam (1980)
August 1981–March 1983	Community	Community	Community (neighbourhood) service and activity	YWEP (1982a, b, c)
April 1983–June 1984			Labour education and resource centre	YWEP (1983a, b)

may be attributed to two factors. First, lessons drawn from a previous phase were incorporated into the next phase. Second, the analyses and interpretations of how to address workers' needs and problems changed as the people involved in the project learned more. Differences in understanding the problem are reflected in the conceptualization of the project and its role. This, in turn, is depicted in the stated objectives, forms of activities, and methodology of implementation.

The Young Workers Community Education Project (YWCEP) (the original name of the project) was first undertaken with a social planning approach to help young workers adjust to the urban–industrial–technological environment of an alien work setting and assist in their adapting to a new community. Based on a study of the needs of workers in Bayan Lepas, together with a review of the provisions for workers sponsored by the government, employing factories, and relevant voluntary organizations, a 1-year pilot counseling community service was initiated. This pilot project further confirmed the need for a larger and more comprehensive project. As a result, a proposal for a 2-year project was submitted and subsequently approved by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF).

Implementation of the second phase commenced in July 1977, after a lapse of 7 months, and ended in December 1979. The approach formulated for this phase was based on a community organization model with a general focus on community education and self-help. During this phase, the overall emphasis and methodology were redefined. It was to be worker-focused and action-oriented based on the formation of working groups with a participatory methodology of action and

reflection. Because of a shortage of funds, the project ceased and was only reactivated in September 1981, under the auspices of Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and the Family Planning Association of Penang (FPA), when the United Nations Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women committed financial assistance for 2 years. After 1.5 years of teething problems, the project was streamlined to focus on labour education. The overall methodology, especially the specific strategies and methods of implementation, was derived from the previous phase.

The Young Workers Education report as it stands now is based on firm research and experience. Since its inception, it has evolved from a community-counseling service to a community-education project. In the present phase, the focus is on labour education based on a participatory methodology of action and reflection through basic mass education. The remainder of this chapter presents the historical development of the project according to its different phases.

Preproject Phase: Research

Since the 1960s, family planning associations have adopted a community development approach focusing on population activities, particularly family-life education for youths. The industrial development in Bayan Lepas attracted many young female workers, mainly from rural areas. As potential mothers and through the sensationalized publicity of their supposed promiscuity and immoral behaviour, these young migrant workers drew the attention of the Federated Family Planning Association of Malaysia (FFPAM). FFPAM, in turn, sponsored a study to identify and solve the problems and needs of these young factory workers.

The problems of these workers, as interpreted by the project's initiators (Choong 1981), were seen from two viewpoints. First, the problems encountered were derived from their rural migrant status and dislocation from their families; hence, the need for some reorientation to help them adapt and adjust to the demands of urban industrial living. Second, the communities into which these workers moved tended to be unfriendly toward them. The workers were condemned and stigmatized. It was crucial, therefore, to integrate the migrant workers into this new community and create an understanding and acceptance by the local residents of these young workers. The study also concluded that, although some of the basic needs were met by employers, needs such as transport, education, and recreation were inadequate. Programs to meet the social needs of workers were also lacking. Thus, there was a real need to set up a wide variety of social services. Provision of existing facilities and services was found to be uncoordinated; the workers were not equipped to utilize them (Choong 1981). These services were in the area of community development/organization and professional social services for individual needs and problems (Blake 1979). Based upon this understanding of the problems and needs of the workers, and the local community's reaction, a 1-year pilot project was endorsed by IPPF to establish a community service in the area and a personal counseling service for factory workers (Blake 1977).

The above analysis and recommendations assume that the workers' situation could be greatly improved by providing education, in very broad terms, to help them adapt to their new situation, both in their work environment and their community. It was assumed that the problems and needs of workers could be ameliorated through adequate provision of services. Thus, a residential community welfare service centre was proposed. It was to undertake the functions of providing

education and counseling to workers and coordinating the agencies' programs on workers' welfare (Choong 1981).

Phase I

To coordinate the inputs of various organizations (government or nongovernment), a 1-day workshop was organized to review the findings and recommendations of the earlier study. Although the workshop was successful in drawing attention and interest from the different sectors to the situation of factory workers, it was not able to rally support nor commitment for a joint effort in providing services for the workers. In fact, there was much suspicion surrounding the attempt, particularly by the management and trade union representatives. Management was suspicious of the trade union's presence, whereas the trade union speculated that the project's aim was to act as a buffer between management and workers.

The result was the formation of YWCEP, under the auspices of FFPAM and with financial assistance from IPPF. A management committee of five persons (including two faculty members from the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia), under FFPAM, was formed whose role was to perform executive functions and bear overall responsibility for the project. The proposed multipurpose centre was set up in December 1975 at the periphery of Bayan Lepas.[1]

IPPF set a goal of providing family-life education to 1000 workers during its first year of service (Blake 1977). Its other major objectives were:

(1) To provide a multipurpose community service in the Bayan Lepas area of Penang, a rapidly changing community affected by industrial development. The service would involve all sectors of the community and would aim to operate as a fully self-supporting system by the end of 1978.

(2) To create a prototype community service and self-help system that could be replicated in other similar developing areas in Malaysia.

(3) To stimulate and facilitate related research, especially in the discipline of sociology, anthropology, and adult education.

(4) To disseminate information on the project to relevant agencies and professional bodies in the voluntary, private, and public sectors.

Most of the early work focused on establishing contacts with workers and local community leaders. Establishing an identity and acceptance was difficult initially but eventually some response and success was achieved. Activities took place informally in the workers' homes, as well as at the project centre and community hall. These activities were either educational in nature, such as informal discussions and structured programs, or recreational. Counseling assistance was also a basic component of the project.

Specifically, the goals of the project (Blake 1977) were implemented through:

(1) An educational program aimed, for the most part, at young workers and other young people. Although the emphasis was on family-life education, i.e., responsible parenthood, family-life education was broadly defined to cover any

[1]Bayan Lepas is made up of 10 villages and is the long-established rural community where the majority of migrant workers reside.

program on any subject of interest and concern to young people. These educational programs could be formally conducted via talks, workshops, and exhibitions. Formal educational programs are defined as programs in which the emphasis is on imparting knowledge to relatively large audiences, and in which the respective roles of educators and the educated are clearly demarcated. Nonformal educational programs, on the other hand, in the form of group discussions and informal conversational English classes, refer to occasions when the educational process, defined as the stimulation of thought and ideas, is dependent upon the participation of people. Here, the participants are both the educators as well as those being educated.

(2) A "personal counseling service" to address the individual problems of project staff. The personal problems encountered were found to be related to: (a) assistance required in using existing services; (b) loneliness, isolation, feelings of inadequacy, and a lack of self-confidence; and (c) problems that required the development of other services that could not be resolved through individual counseling.

(3) The study and analysis of community needs.

(4) Facilitating the utilization of available relevant resources (government and nongovernment) by the community to meet community needs.

(5) Cooperation and coordination with service organizations that are relevant to and interested in the objectives of the project.

(6) Provision of fieldwork opportunities for students of the social sciences.

The approach in implementing the above programs and services was defined by the project coordinator as: (1) the development of young people into responsible adults, through a process that increases skills in planning, decision-making, and handling conflict; (2) the active involvement of young workers and members of the community in planning and implementing programs; and (3) the informal nature and flexibility of educational programs so that they meet changing needs (Blake 1977).

These programs were coordinated or conducted by two staff members for the first few months — a full-time project officer and a part-time project coordinator. After completing the initial phase of establishing community contacts and gaining local acceptance of the project, the project officer left to continue her studies. Although a program assistant was employed, there was little continuity between experience and consolidation of earlier efforts, which is unfortunate because the nature of the work was very dependent upon familiarity with the staff.

Thus, the project struggled on through the commendable efforts of part-time staff and part-time help from volunteers. The part-time staff and volunteers were unable to commit themselves fully because of personal and family commitments. The service lasted for 1 year before it was terminated because of a shortage of funds and staffing problems.

The evaluation of the 1-year experience confirmed the need for a longer and more comprehensive project. It highlighted the following:

(1) The full-time task force of one officer and one field worker was inadequate to make any noticeable impact;

(2) The major problem areas facing workers that required attention were: (a) environmental situation, (b) wages, and (c) personal adjustment to social change in the context of rapid urbanization;

(3) The need for periodic analysis of the project's progress and the problems encountered to: (a) keep the project on track, and (b) identify strategies for implementation;

(4) The need to preplan the components of each specific objective to avoid delay in implementation;

(5) The importance of seeking expertise, even if this is located outside of Penang;

(6) The need for an in-depth evaluation; and

(7) The need for a separate administrative structure for the project, which includes its own financial and reporting system.

Upon the strength of these recommendations and a review of the initial objectives and experiences, a new proposal based on a community education approach was submitted for funding and was subsequently approved by IPPF and UNICEF.

Phase II

YWCEP was reestablished under the auspices of FFPAM in July 1977. The new project, while continuing to provide conditions that would enable young workers and other members of the community to participate more creatively and equally in all dimensions of life as responsible individuals, members of groups, and as citizens, aims to create a permanent structure that would be self-sustaining and continue to provide services to workers via coordination with other agencies (YWCEP 1978a, b, c).

The project's structure consisted of:

(1) The management committee, which functioned as the decision-making and policy-making body. It was made up of members from the sponsoring agencies: Family Planning Association of Penang, FFPAM, National Family Planning Board, and Universiti Sains Malaysia.

(2) A team of consultants, made up of a visiting consultant, a principal consultant, and a resident consultant. These consultants, specially selected for their training and experience in social and community work, were responsible for public relations and evaluation of the project, specifically in terms of monitoring its proposed direction.

(3) The staff proper consisted of a project manager, three officers, and a clerical assistant, each with specific project duties.

The main objectives of the project were to: (1) stimulate community and other organizational actions; (2) seek solutions to the identified needs of environmental, wage-earning, and personal adjustment concerns, and to the "needs" as identified by the workers/community; (3) foster and implement programs that: (i) develop in young workers and other young people the knowledge and skills necessary to manage effectively and responsibly aspects of their lives as individuals, as parents-to-be, and as members of the community, and (ii) involve other organizations in cooperative and coordinated efforts to fulfill the project's objectives; and (4) continue the process of learning about the community so that action programs grow out of accurate observations, sound analysis, careful planning, and review.

These objectives were translated into programs in three major areas of concern. The first area was basically economic (wage-earning context), i.e., helping young workers to function effectively within the context of their work as well as in handling their own financial resources. The second area was largely social (adjustment to social change) and focused on creative usage of the resources of time and leisure within the community and gaining the knowledge necessary to function effectively as healthy, well-adjusted persons both individually and within the family. The third area was concerned with establishing a healthy environment and dealt with problems related to the community as a whole (YWCEP 1978a, b, c).

Under each of these areas of concern was a number of work modules (Table 2). Implementation of the program was based on this set of work modules, which outlined certain definitive steps for implementation within a specified time frame. Each module followed the same steps with minor modifications. These steps included: (1) discerning a definite need, (2) creating an awareness of and concern for this need among young workers and the community, (3) collecting relevant data and information and collating it into a report or pamphlet, and (4) training a group of "communicators" to disseminate the information and involve other groups with similar participation.

The results expected from these steps included: the production of a document or report, the establishment of a core group of "communicators," and the involvement of other groups and organizations in dealing with the concern.

This phase of the project could be subdivided into two periods. For the first 9 months, the project functioned as a multipurpose community service centre where program activities were planned and implemented by the staff to fulfill identified needs. Major efforts were devoted toward reestablishing the "presence" of the project and expanding and consolidating contacts with workers and the community in general. Attempts were also made to implement the new work-module format. Despite successful initiation of a wide range of activities, such as English language classes, study groups on expenditure patterns and budgeting, consumer awareness classes, library services, and sports and games, no meaningful progress could be made on the proposed steps of the work module.

The observations made and experience gained during this period led to a modification in the project's design and a change in the basic approach and methodology to ensure workers' participation and the development of peer self-help groups. It was proven that the highly structured approach of work modules with fixed steps and time schedules did not suit the actual situation of the young workers as it was based on the incorrect assumption that the workers were ready and willing to be formed into groups and the workers' responses and the group formation could be preplanned and time scaled. Therefore, at the end of the first period (i.e., March 1978) there was a shift to a more informal approach, allowing needs and priorities to be dictated, as far as possible, by the workers, instead of merely implementing

Table 2. Work modules within the three major areas of concern.

Wage-earning context	Adjustment to social change	Environment
Wages and benefits	Recreational facilities	Workers' accommodation
Utilization of wages	Functional knowledge	Transportation
Employment contract	Research	and sanitation
Awareness of resources		Community housing
Functional literacy		Industrial health

preplanned programs and schedules for the workers. The concept of the "community" was also redefined, with the priority on the community of young workers and not on the geographical coverage that encompassed the residents of the area, although not necessarily excluding the community residents. The community, in general, will receive attention but only to the extent that related activities, such as the library service, could be used as a nucleus for workers' participation. The changes in the approach and strategy and modification of the focus were accepted as inherent to the development of an innovative project.

Early Development of a Participatory Methodology

From the above reorientation, it can be seen that YWCEP was no longer a welfare service project, providing for the needs and solving the problems of young workers. Neither could it continue to be a multipurpose community centre catering to the diversified "needs" of the community. It was redefined as an educational project aimed at educating the young workers and developing their sense of awareness and self-reliance. Hence, the project emphasized participation and involvement of the industrial workers in identifying their needs. They were also involved in planning and implementing the programs, which attempted to fulfill their needs. These processes, in turn, provide an arena for the growth and training of young workers.

The approach that evolved and was adopted was considered to be a holistic, nonformal, integrated participatory approach in which the young workers were the "subjects" and "participants," not "passive recipients" of services and programs. It was based on participatory education and the development of young workers according to their needs and perceptions, with the pace of implementation being responsive to their "readiness." The approach is:

Holistic/integrated: The project took a holistic view of the individual. It regarded the needs and life of the young workers as an interrelated whole and as a process, rather than as a set of insulated compartments to be dealt with separately and at scheduled time periods. The programs were not viewed as ends in the form of structured program units with fixed time periods, but as a unified continuous process that focused on the attitudinal and behavioural changes of the workers as they developed a critical consciousness.

Nonformal/informal, practical, or experience centred: The programs and activities were related to the daily life situations and practical needs of the young workers. This allowed the young workers to relate directly to and see the relevance and usefulness of participating in such programs because they affected their immediate lives and were not something remote and beyond their own experiences. Actual life experiences are, in fact, the educational instrument best suited to workers who are not used to abstract discussions. Such sessions also provided the arena for communication/interaction and provided opportunities for workers to express their thoughts to others and the kinds of alternative avenues of action to be taken. These sessions were often facilitated by the use of internally produced resource materials.

Participatory-action oriented: The workers, who were the beneficiaries of the programs, play the roles of both educator and student at the same time. They

participate at all levels of program implementation, i.e., from determining their needs and areas of action to planning, implementing, and reviewing. The emphasis was on participatory education and involvement that stimulates the young workers to take stock of their problems, develop their own programs, and take appropriate action on issues that affect them. At all levels of interaction with the young workers, the staff played a role in stimulating the young workers to think and make decisions on their own. The workers were encouraged to articulate their problems and needs and initiate cooperative and collective action to find solutions. Direct involvement in the programs was the means used to captivate and sustain workers' interest. Underlying this approach is the assumption and belief that it is only through the practice of participation and involvement that one learns.

Based on an inbuilt feedback system: The involvement of young workers at all levels of project implementation ensured the continuous feedback required to identify the needs of the workers so that relevant action programs could be developed together with the young workers. This was also achieved through the continuous process of contact work, interaction, and action and reflection with, and by, the respective persons and groups involved. Ongoing financial discussions and reviews of progress and development were held by the project's participants and personnel, which also provided the necessary feedback for effective implementation of the programs.

This approach focused on the basic formation and development of young workers as members of society through a continuous process of exposure, action, and reflection. This proved beneficial not only as witnessed by the results of the action programs but also the processes allow workers to participate in making the change and in decision-making. This was found to be more meaningful, effective, and lasting for workers' development, especially in building up their confidence, competence, and potential. However, such a methodology is more demanding and time consuming. It is dependent upon the demands and situations faced by the workers, as it is developed on this basis. Figure 1 summarizes the implementation methodology.

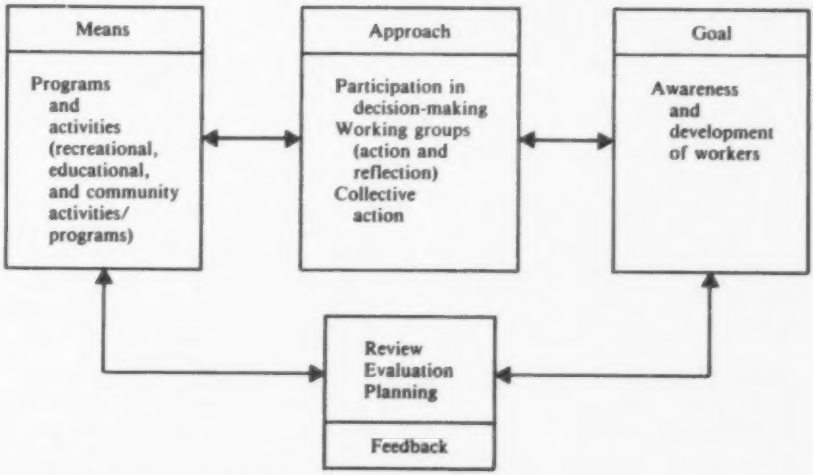

Fig. 1. Implementation methodology.

Within the approach, four basic strategies were used in conducting the programs and activities:

Contact work: This is aimed at the workers to elicit their participation and cooperation. Personal rapport and informal interaction are essential and are the starting point for any kind of involvement with the project — they are the foundation for all programs and activities. Through such contacts, individuals are encouraged to attend and participate in the activities.

Mass exposure programs: These aim at a larger audience of individuals who are not yet ready for involvement in more structured groups. This type of program has enabled certain information, knowledge, and skill to be shared on a larger scale, with the effect of creating greater awareness among the participants.

Regular working groups: This involves groups of young workers or community residents in facilitating the growth and development of individuals through cooperative work and working together on a common activity or task. These groups have also been formed as follow-up action groups to work on specific issues or areas of interest that have evolved from contact work or mass exposure programs.

Organizational cooperation: This aims at establishing working relationships with other agencies/organizations/groups to maximize resources through collaborative efforts in undertaking activities for the young workers and the community at large.

Following the change in implementation and the response to identified and expressed needs and concerns, the original project design was also modified. From a series of structured program units with fixed time schedules, the project used interest activities as "entry points" and as a means for "action and reflection," which focused on the development of the young workers through participatory education and involvement at all levels of planning, implementation, and evaluation.

In the modified design, all activities were related to the main program areas, namely, recreational activities, educational activities, and community-action activities (Table 3). Efforts were also made to maintain contact with the local community and organizations and to develop resource material.

Certain overlaps were expected as some activities contained elements of more than one of the three program areas. Each of the program areas applies all of the four basic strategies in the implementation of various activities with major emphasis being placed on one or the other. In addition, relevant resource materials were developed from these activities and to further their implementation.

Table 3. Activities to ensure ongoing contact with young workers.

Recreational activities	Educational activities	Community-action activities
Sports and games	Consumer-education group	Library committees
Outings	Conversational English classes	Community coordinating committee
Skill learning	Workers' workshop group	Residents' association
Newsletter	Talks, informal discussions	
Library	Exhibitions	
Recreation group		

The recreational activities, apart from their intrinsic recreational value and providing a creative alternative to the activities provided by industries (which are often competitive), helped to break down the inherent shyness among workers. Through such activities, young workers get to know each other (Chan 1979a). They also provide the first step toward cooperative efforts and group formation and action. These lighter, nonserious, and generally more popular activities often served as a basic attraction for further involvement and participation in programs of a more serious and regular nature. Some of these recreational activities included group outings, such as nature walks and hikes, as well as netball and badminton; skill-learning sessions, such as crocheting and sewing classes; newsletters; and sing-along sessions.

The educational activities attempted to share information/knowledge and skills among the young workers on various aspects of life that affected them as individuals and as a group. These activities also developed and increased the workers' potential, sense of awareness/consciousness, and responsibility through continuous participatory reflection and action. Some of these educational programs took the form of regular working groups whose focus was on consumer education, conversational language classes, employment issues, work and living conditions, and other social issues, or single events such as workshops and seminars.

Community-action activities attempted to promote awareness, knowledge, and concern about current issues and problems relevant to the community and to integrate the young workers into the local residential community through ongoing cooperation and collaboration in the planning, organization, and implementation of community activities. Workers also cultivated a spirit of concern and civic consciousness for each other and for the community as a whole. A community coordinating committee was set up to organize and coordinate joint community activities and provide an avenue for interaction between the migrant workers and the local community. Two self-reliant community libraries were also set up through the efforts of the people.

Throughout the rest of this phase, the project functioned as a workers' activity centre. Major progress was made in encouraging workers' participation in more structured working groups that organized activities together, engendered the participation of local community organizations in project activities, especially the library in conjunction with the Residents' Association in Bayan Baru, and formed a community coordinating committee with the local village council in Bayan Lepas (Chan 1979b; Vengadasalam 1980). Owing to the large concentration of workers living in Bayan Baru, another centre was set up there in May 1978.

Although YWCEP was originally funded for only 2 years, the project was able to extend its funding for another 6 months, until December 1979. During this period, major efforts were directed toward: (1) building up the core group of workers to continue in their respective working groups, particularly the workers' workshop group; (2) exploring the possibilities of affiliating some of the working groups with other existing organizations to enhance their continuity; and (3) applying for external funds to continue the project beyond December 1979.

Although there were a few working groups engaged in specific activities, more attention was focused on the workers' education group. The aims were to consolidate the group and develop a consciousness of workers' roles and leadership. The group showed a reasonably high level of initiative and participation. Individuals in the group helped their fellow workers. However, given the short period involved,

the group was not able nor prepared to be independent and self-motivated. In Bayan Lepas, the community coordinating committee was able to obtain sponsorship from the local village council to continue with the opening of the centre and community library service, until the premises were taken back by the Ministry of Health. The community library service continues to function and is currently sharing accommodation with the Legal Advisory Council in Bayan Lepas.

In Bayan Baru, the Residents' Association was also interested in taking over the community library but was deterred from doing so when suitable premises could not be obtained. The Textile Workers' Union also showed an interest in the project's role and activities and was keen to continue the work of the project. Again, because of a lack of funds, personnel, and accommodations, they were not able to implement their proposal.

A project proposal drawn up by the staff and based on the experience of the last 2 years was submitted for 5 years' funding. It was hoped that funding could be attained and the project extended without any disruption. However, this did not materialize and the project's centres were closed in January 1980, although a skeleton staff of two was retained for 2 months to wind up administrative matters. Ironically, the project closed just when it was gaining acceptance and being looked upon by younger workers as a channel for solving their problems.

Although this phase was successful in developing a grass-roots methodology to initiate workers' awareness and participation, it was not without problems and frustrations (Chan 1979b). This experience also showed that the range of activities and focus of the project in its attempts to include both the workers and the community had been too broad and diversified. Consequently, the staff's efforts had been too diffused to be effective. Given the high turnover and transitional nature of the young workers, who were also newcomers to the labour market and, therefore, ignorant of their rights, the project was constantly in contact with new workers. The project has a continuing educational and catalytic role to play. This is all the more necessary in the absence of trade unions and other organizations. It was recognized that it was not realistic or practical to expect a local self-sustaining structure to continue the functions of the project at the end of its 2 years of existence. If indeed an organization was to be developed, it should be a workers' organization developed by and for the young workers instead of a community organization to coordinate the provision and delivery of services by existing clubs, organizations, etc.

The development of a permanent workers' structure is crucial as a protector of workers' interests. It became evident that the question of workers' problems and needs cannot be resolved through the provision of services. Advocacy for change is essential. A socially concerned approach to the workers' situation must incorporate a concern for their problems and needs from a structural analysis of the workers' situation and not from a social worker's perspective. This necessitates an approach that increases the workers' awareness of their basic human rights.

Review of the Program's Objectives and Implementation Model

Indications of possible funding for the project came in August 1980 from the United Nations Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Women, along with a recom-

mendation to reduce the project period from 5 years to 2 years owing to limited funds. By this time, the previous staff had already been absorbed into other jobs. Thus, the original intention of exploiting the staff's experience was not possible. The previous management committee felt that, given the change in focus and emphasis of the project, they did not have the resources nor personnel to oversee the functioning of the project. With assistance from the School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia, a new steering committee (represented by the Penang Family Planning Association and Universiti Sains Malaysia) was formed in December 1980 to resume the project.

When preparatory plans were finalized, the steering committee organized a 2-day workshop on "The Social Development of Factory Workers" in February 1981 to tap suggestions and encourage participation from other related organizations. Meanwhile, background work was being carried out on revising the original project proposal, staff recruitment, locating suitable accommodations for the project, etc. However, reestablishment of the project did not occur until August 1981 because of a delay in dispatching funds. From October 1981 to December 1983, the project operated from the Young Workers Education Centre, which was located in a low-cost housing area with a high concentration of workers in Bayan Baru.[2] The project was run by a project manager, one project officer, two project assistants, and a clerk.

The reformulated general objectives of the project were:

(1) To cater to the welfare and other needs of workers in the rapidly industrializing area of Bayan Lepas; in particular, the problems faced by a work force that is predominantly young, female, and of recent rural origin. (The limited resources available to the project meant that it had to be prototype in scale, effort, and approach in its service to the entire young worker community in Bayan Lepas.)

(2) To develop the workers' independent capacity to identify and define their problems, thereby contributing to the continuation of the project's activities on a self-reliant basis beyond the project's life.

The specific objectives were:

(1) to initiate educational programs that will inform workers of their roles, rights, and responsibilities in the workplace, as members of a community, and as citizens who are directly involved in the development of the nation;

(2) to initiate more general education involving better living programs to enhance workers' ability to rationally assess and deal with the multitude of situations encountered in everyday living;

(3) to organize community and placement services to help locate and settle workers in their living arrangements;

(4) to organize cooperatives to encourage workers to meet some of their basic needs through cooperative efforts;

(5) to organize recreational and cultural activities and provide opportunities for workers to develop their literary and artistic abilities; and

[2]The centre relocated to a two-storey terrace house in January 1984 to accommodate more workers for overnight workshops.

(6) to provide opportunities for student training in community organization, industrial welfare, and nonformal workers' education.

The implementation model based on the methodology of the previous phase was to be adopted. The specific strategies (Penang Family Planning Association and Universiti Sains Malaysia 1981) included:

(1) Personal contact: This would involve one-to-one contact and communication between project staff, volunteers, and young workers. The substance of these contacts will vary according to the situation.

(2) Mass exposure: Mass exposure programs will be conducted to engender certain knowledge, information, and skills. This is to be accomplished through the distribution of handbooks, pamphlets, newsletters, etc., and through other appropriate media, such as film shows, exhibitions, role playing, talks, seminars, workshops, work camps, etc. Where feasible, the educational material will be developed by the workers with support from the staff.

(3) Group context: Regular working groups will be formed. Participation by these groups will enable the growth and development of individuals and help to cultivate cooperative behaviour, sharing, and collective action.

(4) Leadership formation and training: This will involve the participation of young workers at all levels, especially identifying, planning, and implementing programs to generate workshops for the development of leadership competency.

It is also appropriate to demarcate this phase of the project into two distinct periods according to their role and implementation. For the first 1.5 years, the project functioned largely as a service, multiactivity centre equivalent to that of a multipurpose neighbourhood centre. A wide range of activities was provided and organized from the centre. These included educational, recreational, and service and community mobilization and organization activities (YWEP 1982a, b, c). It was clear that during the last year the project had concentrated on organizing activities and classes for workers to fulfill its objectives. There was no doubt that these activities had attracted much attention as well as response from both workers and the community's residents in general. By the end of 1982, however, enthusiasm and interest appeared to have waned as participation in the project's activities dropped considerably. Apparently there had been little effort to sustain a sense of involvement and commitment among participants, who tended to view the project as a provider of disparate activities and facilities that they could make use of as they liked. This perception came through clearly during a few review sessions with workers who had rather vague ideas about the project's objectives in organizing various classes and activities.

The project had also organized a wide range of activities. Unfortunately, the expansion of activities also meant a greater demand on the staff's time, resulting in their inability to devote attention beyond the mechanics of running the activities. The general objective of facilitating and developing in workers an independent capacity to define and deal with their own problems had yet to be realized.

There is no denial of the fact that raising the consciousness and developing independent action among workers would require a great deal of time. Taking this into consideration, the project has, through its past activities, been successful in taking the first step in making contact with workers, generally publicizing its objectives, and catering to some of the workers' needs. However, it was felt that as

the proposed date of completion of the project drew near, the staff should undertake efforts to consolidate workers' formation into working groups to prepare for the continuation of the project's activities through these groups upon official completion of the project.

Thus, after reviewing the project's progress, the steering committee decided that rather than serve as a multiactivity centre, the project should concentrate more on labour education. Two major areas were identified: (1) continuation of contact work and outreach education with efforts to identify and build up a core group of workers as leaders, in addition to providing labour education through various means; and (2) production of labour education resources to aid in labour education programs leading to the establishment of a resource centre.

This change of focus was a result of recognizing that the efforts of project staff were too diffused over too wide a range of activities to create much of an impact. Unlike social and recreational activities and consumer education, labour education was not undertaken by any other organization. Thus, the project decided to fill this gap in view of the urgent need of the new migrant workers.

The approach or methodology undertaken was similar to that followed during the second phase of the project. It was based on the concept of "education through action" (i.e., various programs, activities, etc.) and "education for action." The emphasis was on participation of workers; in particular, involvement of a core group of worker leaders in planning, implementing, and evaluating project activities. The implementation framework is illustrated in Fig. 2.

Figure 3 illustrates the processes of program planning, implementation, and evaluation in the project. The steering committee, in consultation with the ground staff, makes the basic policy decision with respect to the focus of the project on labour education and production of resources. These decisions are acted upon by the staff and the chairperson during staff review and planning sessions. At the same time, meetings are held with the core group of worker leaders to solicit their views and involve them in the planning of certain major programs. These views, in turn, are translated into programs, implemented by the staff and partially by core group members. After implementation, the staff, chairperson, and core group evaluate the programs (the staff and chairperson also conduct in-depth internal evaluation sessions), which provides valuable feedback to improve subsequent programs and work methods. Feedback is also channeled back to the steering committee, which then reviews the overall progress of the project in relation to the objectives and its current focus.

Project Activities

Following realignment of the project's focus, new activities concentrated mainly on the areas of labour education and production of resource materials. Different media and means were used in trying to achieve these new objectives. Figure 4 illustrates the program structure of YWEP as a labour education and resource centre.

Labour Education

Labour education refers to the development of the workers' consciousness of their situation and rights and the means to guarantee these rights. A large proportion

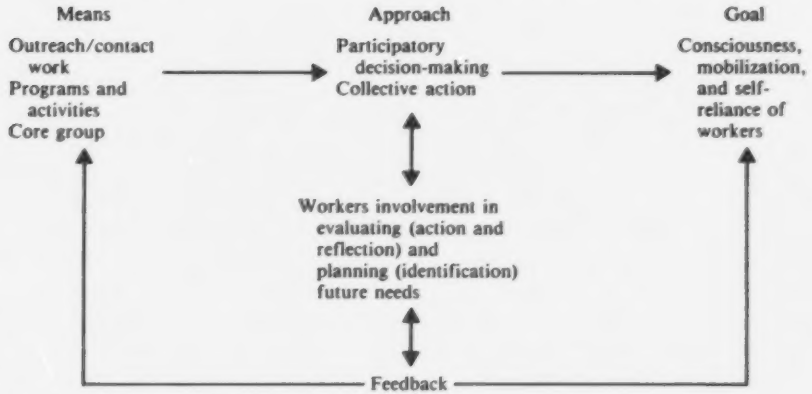

Fig. 2. Implementation framework.

of the workers have little knowledge of the provisions under the various labour legislations of the country. Hence, a basic component of labour education involves informing workers of their rights and benefits as provided under the law, and available avenues of recourse. Although knowledge and information are essential, workers also have to be equipped with the confidence and skills to deal with such matters. This is necessary given the general shyness and lack of confidence and self-esteem among workers. This shows the relevance of holding self-development and self-awareness sessions before workers are expected to participate actively in projects or programs organized by themselves or on their behalf and to take leadership roles.

As indicated in Fig. 4, labour education involves two basic strategies: (1) outreach/contact work and specific programs, and (2) core group formation and consolidation.

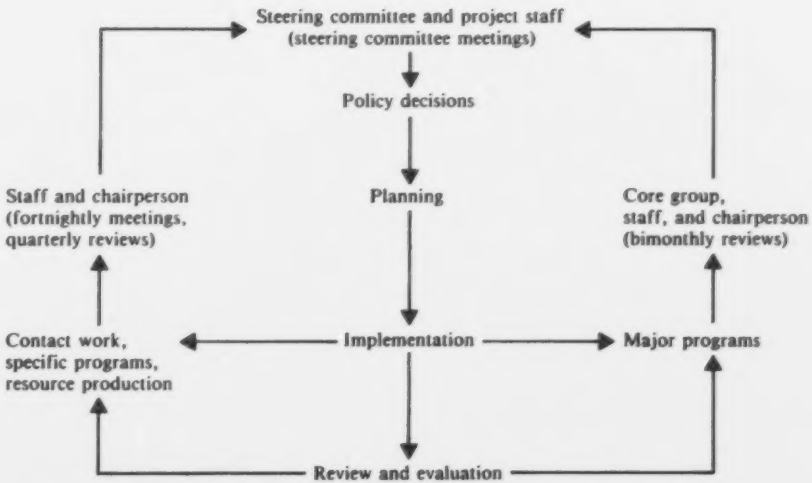
Steering committee and project staff (steering committee meetings)
Policy decisions
Staff and chairperson (fortnightly meetings, quarterly reviews)
Planning
Core group, staff, and chairperson (bimonthly reviews)
Contact work, specific programs, resource production
Implementation
Major programs
Review and evaluation

Fig. 3. Program planning, implementation, and evaluation processes.

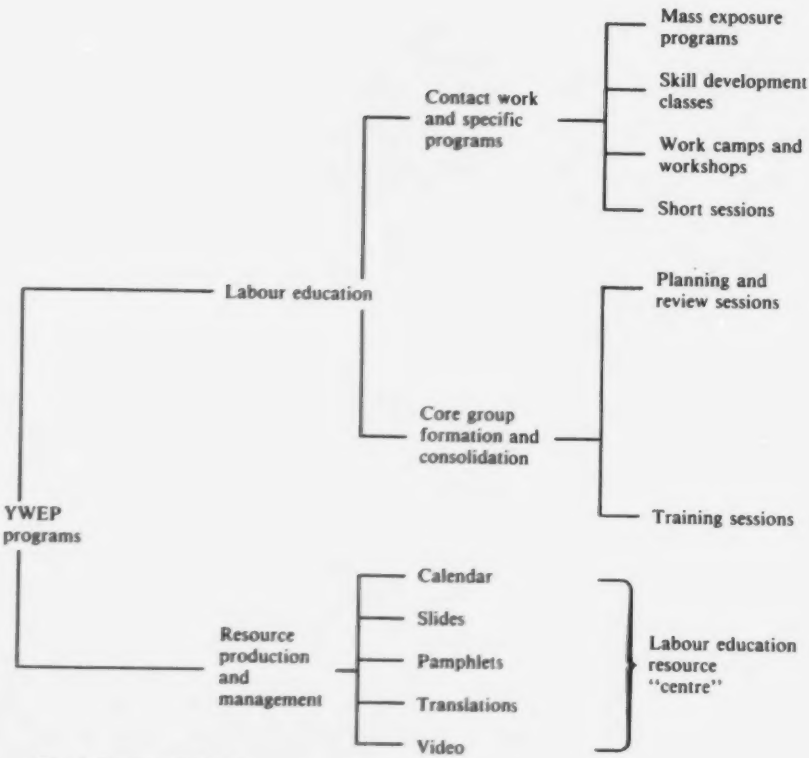

Fig. 4. Program structure.

Outreach/Contact Work and Specific Programs

The aims of outreach/contact work and specific programs are to: (1) reach out to a large number of workers, beyond the geographical area around the project centre, and explain to them the project's objectives, role, and activities; and (2) inform workers and increase their awareness regarding issues of workers' rights and how to initiate action to overcome problems encountered.

Outreach/contact work involves visiting homes/hostels to build a rapport and closer relationships with workers and to learn about their situation, needs, and areas of interest. The feedback obtained provides information upon which the project's programs are based, particularly with respect to suggesting topics for labour education programs. Each project staff member is in charge of a few designated geographical areas and conducts visits and labour education activities, such as short audiovisual discussion sessions on a particular topic. For major programs, however, workers from every staff member's areas are invited to participate. Thus, contact work visits are carried out to identify significant labour issues/problems and encourage workers to participate in labour education programs through short discussion or dialogue sessions, workshops/work camps, and exposure visits that are focused on identified issues. Those workers who are interested are invited to join the core group

and through their involvement and further training a small group of potential leaders is formed. Thus, it can be seen that contact work is the basis upon which other subsequent labour education programs are formulated and forms the backbone of the project.

The specific programs conducted by the project are single-event, mass exposure programs that include exposure visits, skill development classes, work camps or workshops on labour issues, and short discussion sessions on more specific topics.

Mass exposure programs are organized to attract a large number of workers who are not well acquainted with the project. In addition to informing the workers of the project's role and activities, the programs are also meant to be entertaining as well as educational. The purpose of a visit to Radio Television Malaysia, Penang, for example, the local broadcasting agency, was to find out how news is disseminated. Before the visit, a discussion session on "media and women" was held to provide the workers with some background information on a particular issue to enable them to make queries during their visit and thus make the visit a better learning experience.

Skill development classes are regular weekly activities, e.g., sewing, English, and home economics classes. The aim of these regular activities was to acquaint workers with the project's programs and to encourage them to make use of the centre. These activities, which teach workers certain skills, may seem to have no direct relationship to labour education. However, deliberate efforts are made to incorporate aspects of labour education into the activities while adopting a participatory methodology in conducting the classes.

Work camps and workshops are a series of labour education programs designed to increase workers' knowledge and consciousness in a systematic manner. Work camp/workshop topics are structured such that there is a progression from areas of general interest to more specific areas related to the workers' situation. These programs are usually of 2-days duration, with workers staying overnight in rented accommodations so that the atmosphere of togetherness that is created makes the learning experience more enjoyable. The following describes four workshops/work camps that were conducted over a 6-month period:

Self-Awareness Work Camp The first of the series of work camp/workshops, the self-awareness work camp, was designed to introduce workers to the concepts of self-awareness, confidence building, and effective interpersonal communication. This is a major problem among female workers who are often shy and self-conscious to the extent of passively submitting to problem situations instead of voicing their opinion. During the work camp, participants discussed ways of overcoming shyness and how to communicate with their fellow workers and supervisors. To make the work camp more effective and interesting, games, role playing, plays, collages, and group dynamics were used to emphasize certain ideas. Experienced core group members were asked to play the role of facilitators and resource persons at the session.

Labour Laws Workshop The purpose of this workshop was to introduce workers to basic labour laws. Two officers from the Labour Office were invited to give briefings on various labour laws and answer queries from the participants. In addition, reading material and easy-to-read transcripts of the laws were printed for the workshop. A skit was also presented to initiate discussion on a specific violation of the Employment Ordinance.

Basic Rights of Workers Work Camp As an immediate follow-up to the labour laws workshop, this work camp explored in more detail the rights of a worker and examined the labour laws in relation to these rights. In this work camp, micromedia in the form of slides and skits were used to make the sessions more lively and effective. For the first time, attempts were made to videotape the skit and role playing. It was felt that the playback of such presentations would enable workers to reflect upon the message conveyed in them. The recordings could also be shown to other workers as a starting point for discussion sessions. From the experience of this work camp, it was found that audiovisual materials are very effective in ensuring interest and conveying labour education issues.

Workshop on Trade Unionism This was a progression from the two previous topics aimed at informing workers of the role and function of a trade union. Two workers were invited as resource persons to speak of their experiences as trade union members.

From the experience of the self-awareness workshops, a self-development course was drawn up. It consisted of a series of sessions that attempted to inculcate certain basic values (e.g., cooperation, mutual understanding, concern for others, etc.) and skills in interpersonal relationships and to develop self- and social awareness. A more systematic set of programs is also being designed to deal with labour education. Three major themes have been identified: the socioeconomic context of industrialization and the situation of workers, labour laws, and work and health.

Each theme will be dealt with in a work camp or workshop. This will be followed by a series of short sessions on specific related topics, interspersed with mass exposure programs, such as attending hearings of the industrial court. Relevant articles, newspaper clippings, posters, etc., will be exhibited on the centre's notice boards to reinforce the focus of each period. It is anticipated that each period will last 2–3 months, at the end of which a workers' seminar will be conducted. There is no doubt that for labour education to be effective it has to use a wide range of creative, nonformal educational techniques and educational media technology.

Short discussion sessions are discussion/dialogue sessions of 1–6 hours duration on specific topics that are of current interest to workers. Compared with the workshop/work camps, these sessions involve fewer participants and are usually conducted by one or two staff members. The topics for such sessions are identified either during regular contact work or during the regular skill development classes. Some of these topics include social security (SOCSO) and the Employees Provident Fund (EPF).

Core Group Formation and Consolidation

Part of the strategy to continue the work of the project beyond the current funding period and to facilitate the development of a workers' organization was to train and develop local leaders from among workers who can effectively take over the roles of the project staff in the future. Thus, major efforts are being put into the formation and consolidation of a core group of worker leaders. This takes the form of involving interested workers in planning, organizing, and reviewing the project's activities. Simultaneously, leadership formation sessions are conducted and direct support and guidance are provided when needed in playing out their role among their fellow workers.

Because one of the best ways of learning is by doing and through direct experience, the project involved the core group in planning and organizing its

activities. Moreover, it was felt that workers' programs should be planned by the workers. Thus, the core group was involved in long-term (6 months) planning as well as short-term (bimonthly) planning. After working out the programs, the core group members each took on the responsibility of implementing different parts of the programs. Initially, this was accomplished by bringing along friends to participate. After a time, however, members who were more confident became actively involved in preparing and conducting part of the sessions. After every 2 months, the core group convened to review the past 2-months' activities, analyzing their own strengths and weaknesses and planning for the next 2-months' programs.

As a direct follow-up to the planning and review sessions, the training sessions are aimed at equipping core group members with the skills and knowledge required to make their involvement more meaningful and effective. Through other discussion sessions, the staff consciously encouraged workers to analyze and evaluate social situations and their own skills. Members of the core group were also encouraged to participate in programs conducted by other organizations.

The specific objective of forming and consolidating a core group was to identify, train, and develop a group of workers who would be leaders and, in turn, train others. It was also intended that this core group would help to carry out activities planned together with the project and to extend their efforts beyond the project's life. The success of this effort is dependent on the effectiveness of the participatory research approach.

Resource Production and Management

The second major component of the project's programs is the production and management of labour education resources. These resource materials are utilized in the labour education and outreach programs. In addition, all existing resources were coordinated to establish a labour education resource centre that could be used by workers and other organizations. The resources were also used to reach a wider audience of workers as the project's direct educational outreach was limited. Among the materials produced were the workers' calendar, slides, pamphlets, translations, and a video production on industrialization and its impact on workers. These, together with other materials collected through purchase from or exchange with other organizations, are being catalogued and will be available from a small library of resources for use in the labour education programs and by workers and other groups.

The scope of such a project is, of course, not limited to the above activities and programs. Of equal importance is staff development and the development of their belief in and commitment to this type of work. The process of immersion at the grass-roots level is an ongoing training process. In addition to weekly discussions and fortnightly staff meetings, there are also quarterly reviews and planning sessions for the staff. The aims of these sessions are for the staff to monitor and evaluate their own progress, reflect on what has occurred, and use these sessions as a forum for exchanging information and ideas. During these sessions, views on the methods, strategies, and direction the project is heading are shared. Contemporary issues on the labour situation are also discussed.

To share their experiences with others, as well as to deepen their own perspectives, discussions and dialogue sessions are planned with others who are involved in similar work. In this way, the project maintains a closer link with other community and worker-oriented organizations and opens channels for mutual support and

assistance. Whenever possible, staff also attend relevant training courses and seminars. In addition to benefiting from the training, the staff also get the chance to interact with people who may become resource persons for the project. In the meantime, a more systematic staff training program has been planned.

Soliciting volunteers and the assistance of resource persons is another significant, although intangible, aspect of the project's work, especially in the area of resource material production. As the philosophy of the project is based on people's development, volunteers are enlisted not only to complete specific tasks but also so that they can learn.

Fund raising activities are also given some attention. It had initially been suggested by the workers that the project should try to generate its own funds and such suggestions were very encouraging as it reflected the growing sense of identification by the workers with the project and their sense of independence and initiative. Among some of the suggestions forwarded were: running small sales; selling some of the resource materials, such as pamphlets; and printing and selling greeting cards. These ideas arose after receiving donations and contributions for the workers' calendar. Volunteers were recruited to design *Hari Raya Puasa* (Muslim new year) cards for sale. Another suggestion was to establish a bulk-buying cooperative to serve factory workers through selling daily commodities at lower prices. This idea, however, has not been implemented. Another alternative that is currently being explored is setting up a cooperative launderette to generate income to maintain the activities and programs at the labour education and resource centre.

According to the initial project proposal, the proposed date of completion of the present phase was August 1983. Because the focus of the project changed to labour education and the production of educational resources, however, and additional funds were available, the project will continue to function until June 1984.

At present, the response to the project has been very encouraging. The fact that workers actively approach the project with their problems has confirmed the need for such an organization to continue. More systematic labour education programs are being designed at different levels based on previous experience. The formation of a "core group" of worker leaders has already begun and is providing the basis for a permanent structure in the form of a self-help group or workers' organization. At the same time, the project is trying to establish links with similar organizations and to provide training through the sharing of experiences to set up a network of support groups. The project has also been approached by a workers' organization to help conduct some training workshops for its members.

Evaluation of YWEP

Background and Objectives

There have been three evaluations of the project conducted during its various phases of development. The first was in 1976, 1 year after the project began. This evaluation was undertaken mainly to solicit funds for the second phase. The evaluation was not thorough but was conducted merely to justify continuing the project.

A second evaluation was attempted 2 years after implementation of the second phase. A more rigorous evaluation was intended, involving interviews and assess-

ing the impact of the project. The evaluation was aborted, however, because of a change in personnel and difficulties encountered in carrying out the evaluation strategy. The problem revolved mainly around the short-term goals in the evaluation and the long-term effects of the project. This is a particularly vexed issue in the evaluation of participatory research projects in general, where the appropriate methodology has not yet been fully developed and there is insufficient experience to conduct the evaluation.

A more formal evaluation was planned and conducted in 1979 covering the activities of the project over the 1977–1979 period. Using a formal design incorporating the formative and summative forms of evaluation, the evaluators were able to focus on issues such as goal identification and achievement, evaluate the activities of the project, and make recommendations concerning the methodology of implementing the project.

The evaluation of a participatory research project is not an easy matter for a number of reasons (Fernandes and Tandon 1981). The long-term nature of the project presents a particular problem in the sense that the evaluation would be valid only after the processes that would produce any noticeable impact had been worked out. Hence, the summative form of evaluation will not result in the correct interpretation because the effects of a particular activity will not be apparent until after a long period has elapsed.

It is possible to undertake a formative evaluation of the project, however, by looking at (1) how the problems have been identified that form the basis of the project, (2) what kinds of goals have been achieved, how to determine priorities among the objectives, and how to include new ones, (3) the program effort so that modifications may be made to increase its effectiveness as well as to better achieve the goals, and (4) the impact to date, where indicators are available. This was the method adopted for the present phase of the project.

Evaluation of a participatory research project is even more difficult because the target group, in this case young workers, are active participants in the project and, therefore, should be involved in the evaluation. Certain elements, therefore, such as the participatory dimension, must be included, i.e., the effectiveness of the workers' participation must be evaluated.

There are many levels from which an evaluation can be conducted: from the highest level, which would cover the impact of a participatory project on, for example, behaviour modification or the level of consciousness of the workers, to the lowest levels, which would involve evaluations such as goal-achievement analysis, social benefit and cost analysis, or even program audits. On pragmatic grounds, a criterion-based evaluation may be proposed that takes into account the specific nature of the project. Some of the criteria that may be applied in the YWEP case include reach and access, sustainability, replicability, and self-generation.

Evaluation of the 1977–1979 Phase

The design of this evaluation included both a formative format and a summative component (Kwan and Wong 1980). The formative evaluation covered the following:

(1) Identification of problems: The kinds of problems the project focused on during a particular stage were identified.

(2) Specification of objectives: The priority of objectives implemented by the staff during a particular stage was studied.

(3) Program effort: This involved providing descriptive information about the type and quantity of program goals within a particular stage of development. Essentially, this quantitative, descriptive information is an indication of the extent to which staff and the program were active. The information said nothing about how well the tasks were being performed or, more importantly, whether or not the program's overall goals were being attained.

(4) Program effectiveness: This involved providing information on the achievement of the goals of a particular stage of program development. An evaluation of the program's effectiveness would consider both the desirable and undesirable unanticipated consequences that may result from program activities. Although the information regarding effectiveness was typically quantitative, qualitative data could also be used.

The summative evaluation included:

(1) Case studies on twenty-four active young workers: Each staff member was responsible for conducting case studies on six young workers in whom they felt changes had taken place.

(2) YWCEP image survey: To obtain some information about the impact the project had upon the FTZ, community residents, young workers in general, and local organizations, interviews were conducted in the two communities. In total, the management of 8 factories and 12 local organizations, 100 young workers, and 100 community residents were interviewed in late 1979.

(3) Summative evaluation: On 9 December 1979, a 1-day summative evaluation was organized to facilitate all persons who had been involved in the project to participate in an evaluation of the project over the past years. The main purpose was to obtain feedback from persons who had actually been involved in the different stages of project development.

It is unnecessary to present the findings of this formal evaluation as they are reflected in the description of the development phases of the project as described earlier. However, the overall conclusion of the evaluation report, concerning the effectiveness and success or failure of the project during the 1977–1979 phase, has relevance to the issues facing the present phase of the project.

> The project had all the time stressed heavily on the so-called 'participatory' approach towards young workers. That is, a holistic non-formal integrated participatory approach whereby the young workers are the 'subjects' and 'participants' and not 'passive recipients' as the target population. If we look carefully enough, the implicit assumption of this 'approach' is that the problems of young workers were seen as ultimately not amenable to social service solutions, since they were seen as rooted in the very structure of the social order. Even if the project were funded properly, with adequate staff, or allowed to pursue the most up-to-date innovations in service delivery, such services would not be adequate to the task of solving young workers' problems or meeting particular needs. For the staff thought that the 'approach' they took in this project should be more responsive to young workers' needs than the conventional approach. So the task of the project was not only to work with the young workers so as to provide them with the direct assistance they needed, but also to help them see the relationship of their particular situation to the larger

social order, that is to politicize the young worker in the process of participation. The different types of activities were used only as a tool for bringing young workers together. This was not sufficient. Young workers must also develop the kind of understanding of their own situation that helped them link their personal dilemmas with the larger scene around them. In other words, if the staff really took the 'approach' seriously, it means that young workers needed to be helped in identifying the political components of their problems and the ways in which political activities can be a contribution to their resolution, because every helping interaction contains components of education, implicitly or explicitly, and each of these components has a political dimension.

But looking at the actual implementation of the 'approach' in the project, the staff adopted the 'participatory' approach in theory only, without actually implementing the content of it. They forgot to educate the young workers about the most important link — the political link. That is why by the time the young workers were ready for some kind of action, the staff felt constrained by the project policy and management committee's philosophy; therefore they hesitated to take action. What we are trying to say here is that we got the right approach, but it was an incomplete one.

In the early stages of this project a number of assumptions were not clarified explicitly in the project design. It was assumed that industrialization and urbanization brought about different kinds of changes, especially when the rural young workers had to move from their old community to the new community. While there was inadequate alternative provision of urban services to cater to their specific needs and insufficient urban life preparation, a general sense of 'loss' was generated among the young workers. Then it was proposed that the project should cater to all these problems and help the young workers readjust to the urban way of life. We were assuming that through different means and activities provided by the project, we can change the young workers' attitudes and values. It was further assumed that these changes in attitudes and values will lead to behaviour changes in the young workers, and consequently resolving the problems faced by the workers.

These assumptions are debatable. The problems in question are not just behavioural in nature. But even if these behavioural changes can be achieved, somehow, the problems facing workers will remain so long as the structural conditions that give rise to these problems remain unchanged. However, the success of the participatory approach in raising the consciousness of the young workers about the structural determinants of their situation would produce new contradictory relations between them and their objective situation. The possibilities of further action, including political action, could be constrained by the institutional limitations of the project. The final resolution of these institutional limitations, in the form of an autonomous workers' organization, would be the true measure of the effectiveness of the participatory approach. This question relates to the future of the YWEP. (Kwan and Wong 1980)

Conclusions: The Future of YWEP

The future of YWEP, as with all other participatory projects, depends on the creation of a viable structure capable of overcoming current institutional limitations. These limitations include the organizational structure of the project, which because of its dependency upon external support, whether local or foreign, is accountable to these sources. In addition, as such a project also needs local sponsorship to provide legitimacy to the project, another set of conditions is imposed upon the project to meet the requirements of the sponsor.

The viability and ultimate success of YWEP are also dependent upon the creation of a cohesive core of staff and workers committed to the participatory approach and the goals of the project. Initially, this would require the continuous support, in terms of funding and mobilization, of all available external resources. The establishment of linkages with outside institutions and groups would be crucial. To ensure the effectiveness of these efforts, however, the external support has to be complemented by the establishment of internal sources of financial support through activities that could guarantee the economic independence of the project.

Finally, these activities are sustainable only through the creation of appropriate mechanisms to ensure the continuing participation of the workers. These require experimentation with different modes of participation and a wide range of activities that could be used as means to maximize and sustain workers' participation in and involvement with the project.

Despite these limitations, YWEP represents an innovative attempt to come to terms with the limited range of services available in urban areas at times of rapid industrialization. It is obvious that the "people-first" projects face great difficulties in such a milieu but it is also clear that they must be developed.

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Delivery of Urban Services in Kampungs in Jakarta and Ujung Pandang

Amir Karamoy and Gillian Dias

Indonesian government programs directed specifically at the urban poor tend to face obstacles similar to those encountered in most developing countries. There is a problem with defining the target population of the poor and gaining information on their activities. There are also institutional problems, including a shortage of trained personnel, limited economic resources, general economic underdevelopment, and frequent frustration on the part of the poor. Poverty is a complex problem. Its causes are not confined to economic issues, such as the availability of employment, wages, etc. Usually, poverty is a result of various factors, including the actions of the poor. Therefore, the extent and causes of poverty may vary from one region to another and even between urban kampungs. Given this situation, the Indonesian government believes that, for various programs to be successful, there has to be support and participation on the part of the people. In fact, the concept of "participation" is continuously used in Indonesian planning exercises as a means of ensuring the success of projects.

Indonesia is a democratic nation and, therefore, its people should be involved in important issues. Indonesian democracy is based on consensus (*musyawarah*), which means that consultation with the people is very important in the decision-making process.

Participation brings about several gains, such as lower project costs, because much of the labour is voluntary or part time, and a reduced dependence upon external resources. Involving the people means that their support is obtained to achieve consensus, thus increasing the project's chance of success. In this way, the people will not only see that projects are for them, but that they belong to them and will, therefore, become more involved in them.

Participation can be categorized into three concepts: (1) contributing ideas, e.g., in the process of project planning; (2) sharing responsibility, i.e., the contribution of labour, money, or materials; and (3) controlling or maintaining the projects.

Aim of the Research

The aim of this research was to study the people's participation in the delivery of social services in urban kampungs. To understand this delivery system and how participation by the people could be increased, the programs were looked at both from the "top," i.e., from the point of view of the public planners, and the "bottom," i.e., from the viewpoint of the kampung community. It was intended

that the research would enable policymakers to address the following questions: (1) What type of participation can be expected in the different types of programs? (2) What type of participation can be expected given the characteristics of the communities and projects?

To answer these questions, the study investigated the following questions:

(1) In what ways do various government-initiated programs impose constraints on community involvement? What is the procedure and prevailing organizational structure for delivering services?

(2) Do existing programs meet the preferences and felt needs of the poor communities? What are the real needs of the poor? What values do people pursue in their daily activities? Are programs congruous with existing values?

(3) How important are factors such as location, ethnicity, income, and education in determining the success of government programs?

(4) What do the communities think of their leaders, both formal and informal, and how do they communicate with each other? What is the basis of authority within a community? To what extent does leadership influence the success of programs?

(5) What features of a community's social organization appear to be appropriate as channels for delivering basic social services? Conversely, what community features hinder the success of programs?

(6) What kinds of programs are most appropriate for community-based social action?

Methodology

The approach used in this research was that of a case study. Thus, the following should be borne in mind: (1) The sample is not statistically representative. The respondents were obtained by quota sampling (300 in Jakarta; 150 in Ujung Pandang). (2) The survey was in-depth, with many of the questions being structured but open-ended. (3) The analysis was qualitative based on single tabulations and two variable cross tabulations.

The study used three methods of obtaining information: (1) Questionnaires: (a) Household questionnaires were received from 260 heads of households in Jakarta and 130 heads of households in Ujung Pandang. (b) Leadership questionnaires were received from 40 leaders (formal and informal) in Jakarta and 20 in Ujung Pandang. (2) Interview guide for government officials, both at the central as well as district levels. (3) Observation of kampungs.

The study compared data from two cities, Jakarta and Ujung Pandang. Jakarta was chosen because it is a metropolitan city, located in the western part of Indonesia, with a population of 6 500 000 (1980 census) that is relatively heterogeneous. Ujung Pandang is a major city, located in the eastern half of Indonesia with a more homogeneous population of 708 465 (1980 census). Six kampungs were selected for this study, four in Jakarta and two in Ujung Pandang (Table 1).

City Profile

Jakarta and Ujung Pandang play important economic roles in Indonesian development, both in serving as units of production and distribution of services to

Table 1. Characteristics of kampungs studied.

	Population	Area (ha)	Population density per km^2	Total *rukun warga* (RWs) (neighbourhood units)
Jakarta				
Kebon Kosong (central)	41042	73	4104	13
Rawa Badak (north)	42321	840	5004	18
Jelambar (west)	102870	560	1836	23
Kayu Manis (east)	28661	53	5276	9
Ujung Pandang				
Maccini (east)	28098	53	5400	12
Layang (east)	14000	28	5000	8

their own populations and to the developing hinterlands. Both Jakarta and Ujung Pandang are port cities, functioning as transportation centres for the complex interisland movement of goods and services in Indonesia and with her trading partners throughout the world.

The city government revenue of both cities is limited, thus sharply curtailing the level of facilities and services the city can offer the low-income family. There are inadequate supplies and means of distributing drinking water, for example, with less than one-third of the population in both cities enjoying easy access to piped drinking water.

Jakarta

According to the 1980 census, Jakarta has a population of 6.5 million people spread over 656.34 km^2. Jakarta faces the most serious problem of urban poverty of all the urban Indonesian centres. Because it is the political and administrative capital, as well as an economic, commercial, and cultural centre, Jakarta attracts people from throughout Indonesia. It attracts not only rural migrants who have high expectations of bettering themselves, but also migrants from smaller towns and cities. Jakarta has thus become one of the fastest growing cities in the world, with growth rates of 5.8% per annum (2.3% natural growth and 3.5% growth resulting from exogenous factors such as rural migration). This rapid increase in population has accentuated unemployment and poverty problems and aggravated the housing shortage within the city.

Seventy percent of Jakarta's population live in kampungs. In Jakarta, kampungs are not necessarily synonymous with "slums." Kampung dwellers vary significantly in terms of their occupation. The system of name registration in Jakarta tends to exclude the very poor and the seasonal and circular migrants who are not permanent residents of the city. Many of the last category stay in accommodations owned by entrepreneurs who provide these migrant workers with a roof over their heads, food, capital, equipment, and even training in production techniques.

Absorption of the labour force in the formal sector is inadequate, and often the quality of personnel does not meet the requirements of the formal sector. Absorption of the labour force was more a function of the informal sector. Moir and Wirosarjono (1977) stated that the informal sector in Jakarta is not dominated by migrants, rather the majority of participants have resided in Jakarta for a long time. The term informal sector refers to those economic activities that are conducted on a small scale (labour intensive and low level of capitalization) and without an

operating licence. These operations are frequently family enterprises in which production–distribution–consumption is directed toward low-income groups. Activities in the informal sector require fewer skills than those obtained through formal training. This sector is often described as a "way of doing things" (Peattie 1980). In general, the informal sector is dominated by the field of trade, followed by services. In some cities, petty production is also significant. In several cases, the informal sector provides relatively higher wages than the formal sector for those with limited skill, e.g., an ice cream vendor earns twice as much as a sweeper or messenger who works in a government office (Jellinek 1978). In short, various investigations of the informal sector in Indonesian cities support the conclusion that the informal sector is extremely important in that it alleviates unemployment and semiunemployment and can even provide additional incomes for low-income groups in the formal sector, thus improving their standard of living.

The kampungs selected are spread throughout the city. They were not selected on the basis of comparability or uniformity but rather to provide a range of communities. Kayu Manis, for instance, is well established and has been in existence for a long time, whereas Kebon Kosong and Rawa Badak are comparatively poor, with many recent in-migrants. Rawa Badak, located close to the port of Jakarta, is situated in an area that is subject to frequent flooding. Jelambar has also been just recently settled.

Ujung Pandang

Ujung Pandang, better known as Makassar, was formerly the centre of power of the kingdom of Gowa, which was famous for its trade and its superior seamen, who frequently opposed Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese domination during the 16th to 18th centuries. Even now, Ujung Pandang is still the most important centre of trade in eastern Indonesia. Ujung Pandang is the main port on the island of Sulawesi, the capital of South Sulawesi Province and home of the Bugis seafaring people.

According to the 1980 census, Ujung Pandang has a population of 708 465 people, with a 1971–1981 average growth rate of 5.5% per year. The city has recently been expanded to include large areas of the rural hinterland, which helps account for the large increase in population. The two selected areas, Maccini and Layang, are fringe areas. The two kampungs began to be settled around the 1960s. Previously, part of Maccini was paddy fields. Several years ago, Layang was split into two areas, Layang and Parang Layang.

The present population of Ujung Pandang lives in a city encompassing 113.84 km^2. However, the population density among kampungs varies greatly.

The two selected areas, Maccini (located in Kecamatan Makassar) and Layang (located in Kecamatan Bontoala) are low-income, high density areas. This high density, combined with traditional Bugis wood housing, creates a severe fire hazard in these areas.

Both Maccini and Layang were included in the first phase of the physical kampung improvement and services program, which has been operating continuously since 1971. They now have basic access roads, minimal paved walkways, public baths/toilets, and health posts. More than 80% of the residents of the two areas have private toilets and their own bathrooms. Nevertheless, in several *rukun*

warga (RWs) sanitation and a lack of bathrooms still pose a serious problem. In both areas, garbage is still a problem in some places because it is dumped on vacant land and into rivers.

A shortage of piped drinking water is another problem that still exists because it is available only along the main access roads. Thus, drinking water is sold by vendors. Well water, however, is reliable.

Where there are no vehicular roads, footpaths are wider than in many other kampungs, with a width of about 3 m. There remains an insufficient drainage system within the kampung, although in Kampung Layang there is a main drain located in the northern part of the kampung. Nevertheless, during the rainy season, several spots both in Maccini and Layang are still flooded. At times, flooding occurs in the kampungs because footpaths have been constructed higher than the surrounding ground. As a result, the water in the drainage system cannot be channeled out, causing water to collect under the dwellings of kampung residents.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Demographic Composition

The average age of the heads of households surveyed in Jakarta is relatively old, i.e., 41 years of age, whereas the average of the leaders' age is 44 years of age. Perhaps, age confers a certain amount of status and respect. In a community where most respondents are migrants to Jakarta, the role of the older person is usually important. Most heads of households in Jakarta ranged between 25 and 54 years of age (81.5% of a sample of 260), were married, and had a family (74.23%). The average household was made up of six members, although the average nuclear family consisted of five persons. The 1980 census revealed that the average family size in Indonesia was 5.27 persons. The average household in Ujung Pandang has seven persons (more than in Jakarta), although on average the nuclear family is the same size as in Jakarta, consisting of five persons. This means that each household in the two kampungs studied in Ujung Pandang has an average of five family members plus two additional persons, friends, or distant relatives.

The average age of heads of households in the two kampungs studied in Ujung Pandang was 40 years of age, whereas the average age of the leaders was 38 years of age. Perhaps, age in Ujung Pandang plays a less important role, in terms of status and respect, than in Jakarta. Being employed as a civil servant also determines whether or not a resident will be elected as a leader.

Ethnic Composition

Kampungs are often populated by people with certain shared sociocultural characteristics. Traditional kinship ties often play an important role in the economic survival of low-income urban families. Data on the ethnic composition of the respondents in the four kampungs in Jakarta indicate that the population is heterogeneous. Most residents are migrants to Jakarta. This reflects the situation in metropolitan Jakarta as a whole. Only 13.8% of heads of households claimed to originate from Jakarta. The majority (86.92%) come from outside Jakarta. Of this, 36.92% are Javanese (the majority population of Indonesia), followed by 33.46% Sundanese.

Of those remaining, 9.25% are neither Javanese nor Sundanese and 7.31% are of Chinese descent. The ethnic composition of the leaders also reflects this pattern. About 45% of the respondents in the four kampungs in Jakarta (both heads of households and the leaders) have relatives residing in the same kampung in which they live.

Data on the ethnic composition of the respondents in the two kampungs studied in Ujung Pandang indicate that the population is more homogeneous than that in the kampungs studied in Jakarta. The majority of heads of households in both kampungs are Makassarese (60%). The same is true of the leaders (50%). The remainder are Buginese (34%), Javanese (2.3%), and Chinese (2.3%). The remaining leaders are Buginese (40%) and 10% are from Mandar, an area south of Sulawesi.

About 71% of the heads of households surveyed in Ujung Pandang have relatives residing in the same kampung in which they live (2–3 households on average). Most of the leaders also have relatives living in their kampung. Most of the heads of households surveyed in Ujung Pandang (43%) have been living at their present residence for more than 15 years. Only 28% of heads of households in Maccini have lived there for more than 21 years. This may be because some of Maccini's residents were moved from Bara-Baraya kampung.

Education and Employment

The level of formal education achieved by most heads of households surveyed in Jakarta is primary school (41.05%). (This figure includes those who did not complete primary school.) There were 13.08% who claimed to have completed high school and 11.92% who said they had never been to school. The leaders were much better educated. Of 38 leaders surveyed, 71.05% had finished high school or attained even higher education. Education thus plays a large part in conferring status upon an individual.

This general low level of education among heads of households in Jakarta means that they do not possess many of the skills that can be used in the formal job market. These factors together (lack of education and skills) mean that many kampung residents are employed in sectors of the economy that can be termed marginal. Also, in large cities like Jakarta where much of the population is made up of migrants, people choose occupations in the informal sector, which is often associated with their ethnic group. In the absence of any formal protection (unions and the like), close ethnic ties become important. Most of the respondents were labourers (28%) and small-scale traders or hawkers (24%), whereas 23% were civil servants.

A sizeable proportion of the heads of households surveyed in Ujung Pandang had obtained a primary school education (42.31%). (This figure includes those who did not complete primary school.)

The leaders in both kampungs in Ujung Pandang were better educated. Of 20 leaders surveyed, 65% claimed to have completed high school and 35% had a university education.

This low level of education was reflected in the type of job respondents had: 21% were labourers and 38% were small-scale traders or hawkers. In both kampungs studied in Ujung Pandang, 25% of the respondents were civil servants.

Income

Data on income are often fraught with problems and we do not pretend that the information we have collected is rigorous. Our data indicate that the average income of heads of households in the four kampungs studied in Jakarta is IDR 51000 per month. This means that the average income is IDR 1700 per day (USD 2.39).[1] If this is compared with a survey undertaken by Papanek and Dorodjatun (1978), there appears to have been relative improvement as the average income in kampungs in Jakarta at that time was IDR 280 per day (USD 0.70).[2]

When the change in the real value of the rupiah over that decade is taken into account, there is no significant increase. A container of clean water cost IDR 20 to IDR 25 in 1972, for example, whereas in 1981 it cost IDR 100. Taking into account the devaluation that took place in November 1978, therefore, the price of drinking water increased approximately four times over a 9-year period. Incomes also increased by approximately the same proportion; thus, in real terms there is no significant increase. If the four kampungs in Jakarta are compared, the situation is even worse.

Obtaining data on the income of heads of households in Ujung Pandang is also fraught with problems. For the purpose of illustration, however, we can say that the average income of heads of households in the two kampungs studied is IDR 46820 per month, whereas in Jakarta, the average is IDR 51000 per month.

Social Services in Urban Kampungs in Indonesia

Government social service programs, in the context of this study, have been defined to include the following types of services: social welfare services; health and health-related services; basic education services and cooperatives; and kampung improvement programs (KIP).

In Indonesia, the government plays a very important role in delivering these services to its population, both in rural as well as urban areas. The main government departments involved in administering these services are the Department of Social Affairs, Department of Public Works, and Department of Health. All of these Departments work closely with voluntary agencies, nongovernment organizations, and international agencies.

To understand the kinds of services available to the urban poor, the administrative structure of the *kelurahan* or district will be described first, as all government programs have to pass through the district office.

The *Kelurahan*

The *kelurahan* is the smallest governmental administrative unit. Its position in the administrative hierarchy is shown in Fig. 1.

Jakarta is divided into five administrative districts, central Jakarta, west Jakarta, east Jakarta, south Jakarta, and north Jakarta, each headed by a mayor. The mayor

[1] United States dollar (USD) 1 = Indonesian rupiah (IDR) 670 (the rate before devaluation in April 1983).

[2] USD 1 = IDR 415.

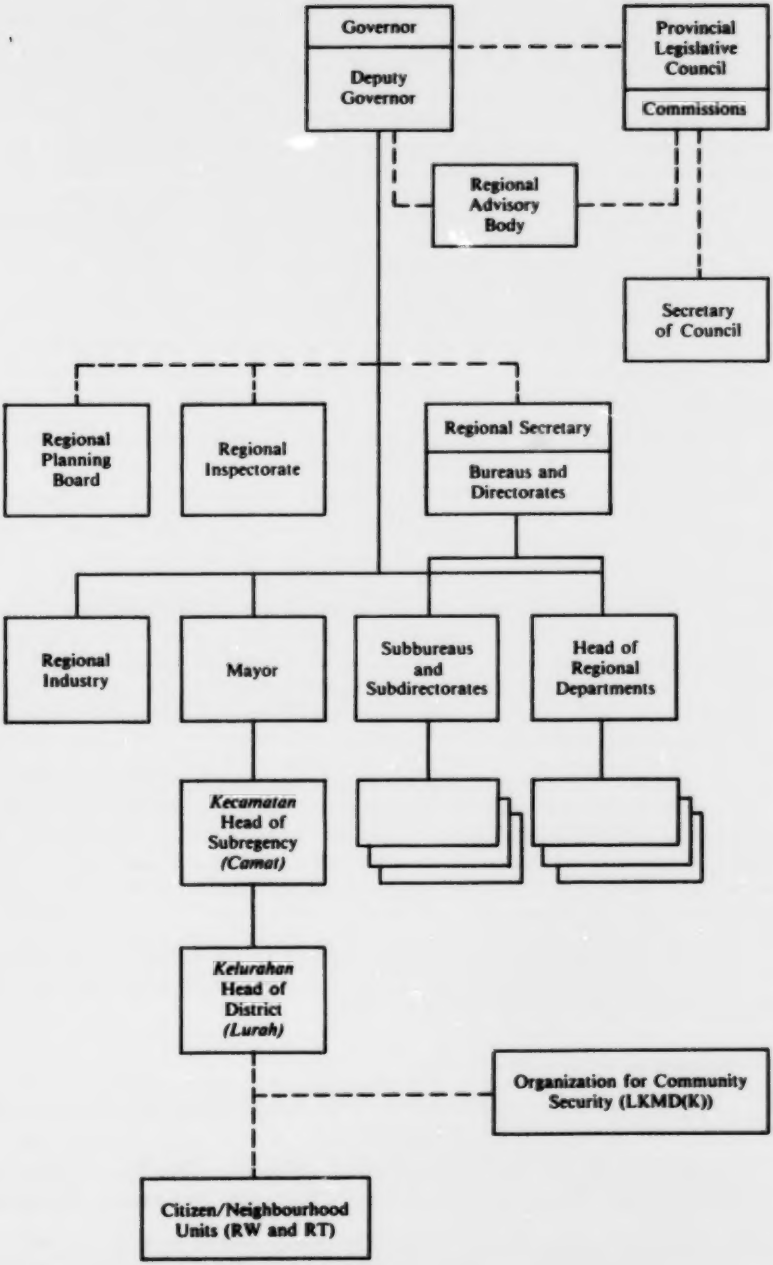

Fig. 1. Organizational structure of the local government of Jakarta.

assists the governor in executive matters pertaining to the district. In general, social programs that have been outlined and decided upon in terms of policy and legislation by the various government departments are "channeled downward" to the municipal level office (*suku dinas*) found in each mayor's office. Several other departments, such as the Department of Education and Culture, also have their own municipal offices. Each *suku dinas* then "channels downward" the various government programs to the district level (*kecamatan*) and finally to the community level (*kelurahan*). In terms of distributing services to the people, most programs are available to the masses through the *kelurahan* office, whereas others are available through the *kecamatan* office. Programs found in the *kelurahan* office are those originating from the Department of Social Affairs, Department of Education and Culture, Department of Trade and Cooperatives, and Department of Public Works.

When it comes to implementing programs, the departments often cooperate and there is much overlap. Funds are provided jointly by the departments concerned. The type and nature of programs conducted depend upon the judgment of those at higher administrative levels. Often, the special needs of each area are neglected and an "average" package is presented instead.

In terms of policy, therefore, the role of the *lurah* (head of a *kelurahan*) is simply that of an administrator, although they have the authority to allocate funds, put programs into action, and recruit staff to head various sections. In contrast with Jakarta, Ujung Pandang's local government is headed by a mayor. This is because Ujung Pandang is a municipality, whereas Jakarta is headed by a governor because it is the capital. The lower levels of the bureaucracy are the same for both cities.

All programs that are "channeled downward" from various government departments are accommodated and coordinated by what is known locally as the LKMD (K) (Organization for Community Security), headed by the *lurah* (Figs. 2 and 3). The function and aim of the LKMD (K) is to implement programs, projects, and

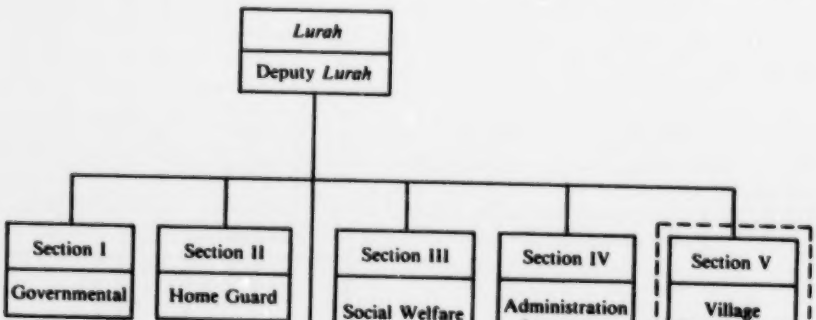

Fig. 2. Kelurahan *organizational structure.*

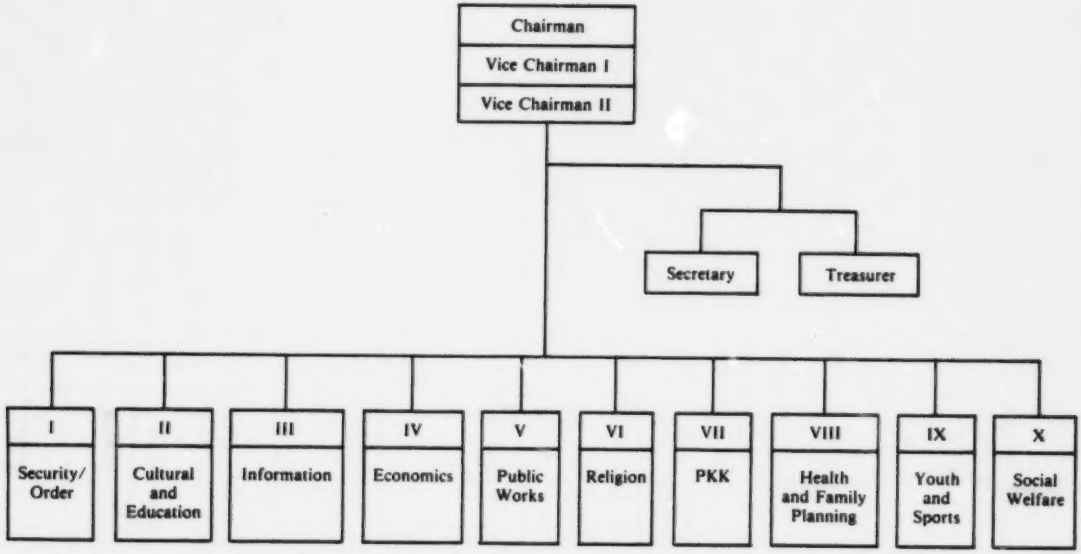

Fig. 3. Organizational structure of village/kampung self-reliance council (LKMD (K)). Note: PKK = Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Women's Movement for Family Welfare).

activities in its area of operation. These activities usually originate and are guided by technical field-workers from the various departments. In short, the function of the LKMD (K), among other things, is to coordinate social activities at the lowest level of government in an area.

These social activities are usually aimed at fulfilling the basic needs of a certain group, e.g., food, clothing, and housing. These are followed by health and education. These needs can be further expanded to include social assistance, such as insurance, family welfare benefits, recreational facilities, and protection for workers. At the level of the kampung community, the LKMD (K) section concentrates mainly on social welfare activities and activities for youths, increasing incomes through cooperatives, and skills-upgrading projects (such as courses on welding, typing, making furniture, printing, etc.). At present, the social security benefits provided by government are very small, distributed on an ad hoc basis, and without the guidance of a national social insurance or social security system. To implement its activities, the LKMD (K) collects funds and obtains labour from volunteers within the community. It also receives funds from the government (both central and local) as well as from other sources, such as charitable contributions. Voluntary contributions from the community are defined as mutual self-help activities (commonly referred to as *gotong royong*), which may be in the form of money (from collection of fees), material, or profits from LKMD (K) activities, e.g., cooperatives.

Social Welfare Section

In nearly all *kelurahan* in Jakarta and a few in Ujung Pandang, there is at least one community worker. In many, there are several community workers with special functions, e.g., improving economic opportunities or helping women.

The community workers also assist with the government's program to help orphans and dropouts. Efforts to assist these groups are passive, usually in terms of providing schoolbooks or clothing. In this area, community workers also work closely with nongovernmental agencies, such as various church organizations, Islamic organizations (*Muhammadyah*), and the women's arm of the government's civil service (*Dharma Wanita*) and that of the military (*Pertiwi*).

One program from the social welfare section is BAK (*Bantuan Asistensi Keluarga Miskin*) or "assistance to poor families," which takes the form of assistance to stimulate self-help. These families are given some money, usually between IDR 15000 and IDR 24000, to help them start up a small-scale enterprise. The Jakarta Municipal Office also works with the National Family Planning Board (BKKBN) on a number of other income-generating projects.

Section for Family Welfare (PKK)

The family is seen as the smallest social unit, but a very important one in terms of its influence on the development of one's personality. With this in mind, the LKMD (K) has set aside a special section, called family welfare, as one of its main programs.

The aim of this program is to ensure the well-being of the family. This job is given to women, especially married women, to develop methods to improve/increase: health, environment, food intake, clothing, education, and skills.

The head of the section is always the wife of the *lurah*. She is assisted by a small staff. Some of this staff are given training, others are not. The staff have usually obtained at least middle school education.

In implementing the various activities, the organizers set up work groups according to their needs. To improve the level of education obtained by women, for instance, this section works closely with the government's nonformal education program.

This section also coordinates the work of two other groups concerned with the welfare of families and children. The primary aim of these three groups is to build a strong healthy family and especially to enhance the role of women by improving their skills and level of education.

The groups concerned with the welfare of families and children are active in fund-raising activities and providing contributions to poor families, handicapped people, the aged, orphans, and victims of natural disasters.

All activities of the three groups and some of their funds are obtained from contributions by the community, fees collected from the community, profits from fund-raising activities, and some from the government, especially the Department of Social Affairs and the *Kelurahan* Office. Often, these three groups experience difficulties in implementing their projects, mainly because of a lack of funds and staff, both voluntary and paid.

Youth Section

In each *kelurahan*, there is a youth section called *karang taruna*. This group is part of the welfare of families and children group and is organized by it and the Municipal Office. The head of *karang taruna* is sworn in by the local *lurah*.

The aim of this section is to improve the welfare of young people, and also to help the community in various community projects, such as building drains, repairing mosques, building community centres, and collecting funds.

Religious Section

This section is concerned with collecting *zakat* (in the form of cash or materials) from wealthier groups in the community. Usually, the *lurah* fills the role of head of this section and is assisted by the head of the citizens' group (RW) or the head of the neighbourhood (RT).

Economic Section

The main aim of developing cooperatives is to increase the economic capacity of the lower income groups. Usually, the establishment of cooperatives is planned, prepared, and decided upon by the municipal cooperative office, and the decisions have been made without sufficient consultation with the people.

Education Section

Aside from formal education (schools), this section is given the task of providing nonformal education to the community. The aim of this program is to provide skills to dropouts, the unemployed, or to those who require a particular skill to increase their incomes.

Puskesmas (Public Health Centres)

Public health centres were introduced in Indonesia in 1968. These centres function as medical/health facilities, according to their ability and capacity. More specialized attention has to be obtained at a higher level, e.g., a hospital.

Nearly all *kelurahan* in Jakarta and Ujung Pandang have at least one health centre, which is coordinated by a health centre at the *kecamatan* level. (Each *kecamatan* usually has one community health centre that coordinates approximately 10 health centres at the *kelurahan* level.)

The services provided by a health centre are many and can be divided into those services taking place inside the health centre (medical service) and field services. Together, they cover three aspects: curative, preventive, and promotive.

The aims of the public health centres are reflected in their most important services: environmental health, education and motivation in community health, health services for the individual, and general health care of the community (immunization).

Kampung Improvement Program (KIP)

In an effort to improve the environmental condition of kampungs in Indonesian cities, the government introduced the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) in 1969. Since 1973, the government has accelerated efforts to improve the quality of community facilities through the improvement of several kampungs in some large cities through loans from the World Bank.

KIP is concerned with improving: (1) vehicle roads, (2) footpaths, (3) drainage facilities, (4) clean water supplies, (5) MCK (communal latrines or bathing/washing/toilet facilities), (6) garbage disposal, (7) *puskemas* (public health centres), and at the subdistrict level (*kecamatan*) and in some places also at the neighbourhood level (*kelurahan*), (8) elementary schools. Not all kampungs improved through KIP receive all eight components.

The Demand for and Utilization of Government Programs

From Tables 2–5, it can be seen that there are at least 18 government programs available to the residents of kampungs. Unfortunately, the data obtained from the questionnaires are incomplete and sometimes confusing, partly because of the selection of respondents and partly because of the diversity of the programs (with more than one government department responsible) and the difficulty, from the respondent's point of view, of differentiating one program from another. Of the services available, the demand is greatest for health and family planning services. Surprisingly, economic needs, such as employment, do not figure prominently.

The data show that health services, especially family planning and immunization, are the only services demanded by all income groups (Tables 4 and 5). Although those earning less than IDR 20000 made up 11.5% of household respondents in Jakarta, this group and their families demanded only 3.6% of the services available. In Ujung Pandang, those earning less than IDR 20000 made up 10.0% of the household respondents and they demanded 7.0% of the services available (Table 6). Thus, the "poorest" groups are not receiving many of the benefits of

Table 2. Demand for social welfare and health services in Jakarta.

Program	Kampung				Total
	Jelambar	Kayu Manis	Kebon Kosong	Rawa Badak	
1. Social rehabilitation	—	1	2	3	6
2. Disaster relief	3	1	1	3	8
3. Social counseling	1	2	1	—	4
4. Community worker	1	—	2	—	3
5. Guidance for delinquent children	—	1	—	—	1
6. Enhance the role of women and family planning	8	4	—	1	13
7. PKK[a]	2	6	3	—	11
8. Child welfare	2	—	—	1	3
9. *Karang taruna*[b]	4	2	2	1	9
10. Nutrition	5	2	—	4	11
11. Population (family planning)	6	6	2	3	17
12. Immunization	6	15	8	7	36
13. Environmental health	9	14	8	9	40
14. Motivation to adopt a small family	9	4	—	1	14
15. Contraceptives	9	6	2	7	24
16. Nonformal education	3	2	3	2	10
17. Religious charity	1	1	—	2	4
18. Hospital service	2	—	1	3	6
Total	71	67	35	47	220

[a] PKK = Women's Movement for Family Welfare.
[b] *Karang taruna* = Government's youth organization.

these programs because of a lack of knowledge or the government's inability to inform or reach them.

The demand for services from other income groups is proportionate with their size. To determine whether or not some of these basic services are reaching the lower income groups, it would be expected that the lower income groups would use

Table 3. Demand for social welfare and health services in Ujung Pandang.

Program	Kampung		Total
	Layang	Maccini	
1. Social rehabilitation	1	1	2
2. Disaster relief	3	1	4
3. Enhance the role of women and family planning	—	1	1
4. Women's Movement for Family Welfare (PKK)	1	1	2
5. Child welfare	1	1	2
6. Nutrition (*susu, kacang ijo, sayuran*)	11	26	37
7. Population (family planning)	21	17	38
8. Immunization	35	29	64
9. Environmental health	21	26	47
10. Motivation to adopt a small family	1	1	2
11. Nonformal education	—	8	8
12. Religious charity	2	—	2
13. Services from block grant	—	3	3
Total	97	115	212

Table 4. Demand for social welfare and health services according to income level (rupiah) in Jakarta.

Program	<20000	21000–40000	41000–60000	61000–90000	>90000	Total
1. Social rehabilitation	—	1	2	2	1	6
2. Disaster relief	—	4	2	—	2	8
3. Social counseling	—	1	—	1	2	4
4. Community worker	—	—	1	1	1	3
5. Guidance for delinquent children	—	—	—	—	1	1
6. Enhance the role of women and family planning	—	2	4	2	5	13
7. PKK[a]	—	2	4	2	3	11
8. Child welfare	—	1	1	—	1	3
9. *Karang taruna*[b]	—	4	3	1	1	9
10. Nutrition	—	3	4	1	3	11
11. Population (family planning)	1	4	7	—	5	17
12. Immunization	2	10	12	5	7	36
13. Environmental health	2	13	12	6	7	40
14. Motivation to adopt a small family	2	2	3	3	4	14
15. Contraceptives	1	4	8	3	8	24
16. Nonformal education	—	2	1	5	2	10
17. Religious charity	—	2	2	—	—	4
18. Hospital service	—	1	2	—	3	6
Total	8	56	68	32	56	220

[a] PKK = Women's Movement for Family Welfare.
[b] *Karang taruna* = Goverment's youth organization.

proportionately more of the services than the wealthier sections of the community. In fact, the data indicate that the three top income groups use a proportionately higher percentage of services.

Of the 260 respondents selected at random in Jakarta, only 11 stated that one member of their household was a member of PKK (government women's group) and only nine were members of *karang taruna* (government youth group). In Ujung Pandang, of 130 respondents, only two stated that one member of their household

Table 5. Demand for social welfare and health services according to income level (rupiah) in Ujung Pandang.

Program	<20000	21000–40000	41000–60000	61000–90000	>90000	Total
1. Social rehabilitation	1	—	—	1	—	2
2. Disaster relief	—	2	1	—	1	4
3. Enhance the role of women and family planning	—	—	1	—	—	1
4. Women's Movement for Family Welfare	—	—	1	1	—	2
5. Child welfare	—	—	—	2	—	2
6. Nutrition	2	17	8	8	2	37
7. Population (family planning)	2	11	9	15	1	38
8. Immunization	4	23	12	18	7	64
9. Environmental health	3	14	8	14	8	47
10. Motivation to adopt a small family	—	—	1	1	—	2
11. Nonformal education	2	2	3	1	—	8
12. Religious charity	1	1	—	—	—	2
13. Services from block grant	—	1	—	2	—	3
Total	15	71	44	63	19	212

Table 6. Service demand by income group.

Income group (IDR)	Jakarta		Ujung Pandang	
	Sample (%)	Service demand (%)	Sample (%)	Service demand (%)
<20000	11.5	3.6	10.00	7.0
21000–40000	25.4	25.5	36.93	33.5
41000–60000	23.5	30.9	20.0	29.8
61000–90000	13.8	14.5	16.92	29.8
>90000	20.8	25.5	10.77	8.9
No response	5.0	—	5.38	—

was a member of PKK and none stated that members of their household were members of *karang taruna*. With respect to nonformal education services in Jakarta, only 10 respondents have ever received such services, whereas in Ujung Pandang only eight respondents have taken part in nonformal education services.

As mentioned earlier, most people in kampungs do not appear to be involved in the various activities. When asked why they did not participate, most people stated that they were not interested, that they were unable to participate, or that they did not have time to participate. From this information, it may be pointed out that: (1) Less than half of the residents of kampung communities (48.4% of answers) actively take part in activities designed to improve their social and economic conditions. (2) The structural poverty that has entrapped the low-income groups creates difficulties for them in terms of becoming involved in any service activities that are designed for a wide range of income groups. It is appropriate, therefore, to look at some of the factors that could explain why government programs, in particular, fail to attract significant participation.

In delivering its programs, the government utilizes those who are better off and better educated to assist those who are poorer and less educated. In fact, the better-off groups have a different perception and outlook that is different in terms of defining the needs of the community. As a result, the poorer groups often do not enjoy the benefits of the programs. The activities of the family social welfare group, for example, such as beauty courses, food decoration, and bridal makeup, are not at all applicable to the poor. When women from lower income groups were asked why they did not participate, they reported that they did not have the time to follow these activities because they were too busy with their daily needs. They also said they felt embarrassed to take part in these activities, which in their view were "elitist."

The diversity that characterizes kampungs poses practical problems. Using the middle groups as intermediary channels for reaching the poor does not always work. The needs of different income groups are not taken into account. In a situation where funds are restricted, it could be argued that it would be better to be more selective in distributing available services by first determining who needs what.

In the above discussion, it has been pointed out that the content of several government programs is not relevant to the needs of a large section of kampung communities. In addition, another problem exists that can be seen in the women's group (PKK) and youth group (*karang taruna*). One of the main tasks of these groups should be to provide skills to women, dropouts, and unemployed youths so that they could bring in additional income for their families. In the kampungs studied, however, it appears that the core of these groups, who have received training and education from various government agencies, do not in fact transfer

their knowledge to those who need it. Instead, they use their position to further their own ends. What generally happens is that activities that would really benefit the poor, the unemployed, and youths, such as skills training, are lost among the other activities.

Another problem is that the capacity of existing social services is limited. The assistance to poor families program, for instance, can only benefit 10–25 families in each *kelurahan*, whereas the demand for assistance is much greater. Furthermore, the amounts made available are very small and are given only once. The same also applies in the case of providing assistance to orphans, the elderly, and the handicapped.

Our impression from interviewees' responses is that many of the activities of LKMD (K) are marginal. One reason for this could be that many people do not know about the types of programs available to them. Also, those who organize these activities are not very active in disseminating the available information. In general, it can be said that the LKMD (K) that were surveyed do not function according to plan, probably because communities are not encouraged to take an active part in the programs.

In general, social programs initiated by government have not reached the lowest socioeconomic groups in the kampungs. Unfortunately, these groups form the majority. Many programs, therefore, are enjoyed only by the elite, who form a small sector of the community.

The strategy of using the middle/upper groups of the low-income population as target groups, whether intentional or unintentional, in the hope that they would be able to assist and stimulate the poorer people, does not appear to work. This arises from the fact that the basic needs of these two groups are different, as are their perceptions of existing programs.

As mentioned earlier, most of the services demanded by kampung residents are health related. Most of these services are available to the community through public health centres. With respect to the six public health centres in the kampungs studied, the following was observed. Although the health centres were supposed to supply a variety of services, in general, they perform only a curative function or a function that takes place inside the health centres, such as providing immunization shots, etc., and dispensing medicines. Their other functions, such as school health programs and instruction on environmental health, are carried out only incidentally.

In the six kampungs studied, we were told that often these functions were carried out only twice a year because of insufficient funds and a scarcity of field-workers. Although the public health centres fulfill a very important and relevant need, their activities are still marginal and so their effect on people's attitudes toward health are minimal.

Evaluation and Conclusion

(1) The structure of the *kelurahan*, through which most services are delivered, is so bureaucratic that it is difficult for a person with little education to understand the necessary procedures for requesting services.

(2) The *lurah* is very powerful in terms of implementing different programs. The *lurah* allocates funds, implements projects, and recruits staff. The *lurah* also

decides who will receive assistance through the various services. It is not clear what criteria are used in determining needs and in determining the target groups of a program.

(3) The intention of government programs is to deliver services at the community level, but the *lurah* and the *lurah*'s staff are often not sufficiently trained or qualified to undertake such a heavy task and most of the staff are overburdened with administrative work. As a result, they often have no time to undertake real activities with the kampung residents.

(4) Most of our respondents did not take part in many of the government initiated programs or activities. Often they were unaware of the availability of these programs and the *kelurahan* staff were not active in spreading information about the programs, partly because they were already overworked. The data suggested that the staff did not meet with the kampung residents on a regular basis, rather it was up to the people to make the first move.

(5) The method of using the middle group to assist and guide those at the bottom, although sound in theory, does not work in practice in the urban kampungs studied. Often, the educated or wealthier groups used the funds available for their own ends and misinterpreted the aims of many programs, especially as they related to the needs of the target groups. Thus, the poorer groups do not participate because they do not feel that these activities are relevant to their needs.

(6) The study showed that the needs and problems facing each of the kampungs were different. The government simply "delivers" one package of services to all kampungs without taking into account the specific needs of each kampung. It is important, therefore, that each *kelurahan* be given the right to set their own priorities.

(7) Most government programs are national programs aimed at both rural and urban communities. Often, they are first designed with the rural population in mind. Certainly, there is a difference in the two types of communities: rural folk are perhaps more homogeneous than their urban counterparts (in terms of income, education, origin, occupation, etc.) but there is also increasing socioeconomic stratification at both the urban and rural levels. The content of many government programs does not reflect this heterogeneity. Government programs often tend to view a *kelurahan* as a socioeconomic or cultural entity, an approach that frequently discounts class differences in most urban kampungs, resulting in different needs according to respective groups. These class differences may be one of the obstacles preventing participation at all levels of the kampung in activities held by the *kelurahan*.

(8) The problems of the poor that are more "economic or social" in nature require a longer time span in which to produce concrete results and people need money or other assistance to organize such activities. It is in this situation that they need the assistance of government most. Many of the services provided through the LKMD (K) that are aimed at solving problems in this area, however, do not function properly.

Policy Recommendations

Scope and Nature of the Program

Most government programs were designed with the rural population in mind. The rapid growth of the population in urban areas, however, together with increas-

ing socioeconomic stratification, means that the government may have to recognize this heterogeneity and create priorities for delivering services. Especially in a situation where funds are restricted, it could be argued that it would be better to be more selective in distributing available services by first determining who needs what. For instance, this study revealed that the main problems in the kampungs were unemployment, housing, and capital. In this respect, it would be better for the programs or activities in the *kelurahan* to place their emphasis on the most urgent problems.

Kampung or *Kelurahan* as a Totality

As mentioned earlier, for a great number of people the kampung is the social framework supporting their economic survival and well-being. In this respect, we believe that each *kelurahan* should develop its working priorities according to local conditions. In view of the fact that the population of each *kelurahan* in urban areas is considerable, there is potential for the *kelurahan* not merely as a residential area but also to develop productive sectors within its area. This could be in the form of industry, trade, and other services. In this way, the *kelurahan* can provide job opportunities for the unemployed, dropout youths, or those with very low incomes. To this effect, the *kelurahan* administration should provide guidance and education, and direct these productive activities.

The informal sector, within its working area, should be developed and intensified to increase production and services, and the marketing of its products.

Community Participation

The study revealed that respondents generally did not join in kampung activities because of a lack of time, apparent benefits, and interest. It may be deduced, therefore, that if kampung activities were to provide direct benefits to the members concerned, the community would become more involved. With the presence of productive activities organized in groups in the kampung, it is hoped that that part of the community requiring improvement will join in developing the area. In this way, the community will not only develop its area, but will also benefit directly by obtaining employment that will enable the people to provide for their families.

Productive Activities

Productive activities should evolve as a result of initiative from those who feel that they have needs that they cannot fulfill alone. These people should form a cooperative group to achieve their aims effectively, as each member will experience a sense of belonging and a desire to develop the organ they have created.

Productive group activities that may be developed can be grouped into three categories: (1) those activities related to increasing incomes, e.g., production groups and trade or services groups; (2) those activities related to improving the well-being of the community, such as building, improving, or maintaining dwellings, schools, community centres, mosques, churches, sports fields, footpaths, drainage systems, etc., and (3) those activities related to improving the people's health, such as community health development groups, nutrition, family planning, etc.

Potential Labour

This study has shown that in the building of mosques, schools, drainage systems, dwellings, and sports fields, the community generally provides the labour. The important thing is to consult with the community in the planning of activities that will be conducted together so that the people will recognize the benefits provided by these activities.

Leadership

This study showed that activities conducted in urban kampungs were frequently successful when organized by housewives. In this regard, the possibility of developing housewives' activities into productive efforts, in particular those that could supplement family incomes, could also succeed. In addition, the study showed that, generally, both in Jakarta and Ujung Pandang, those persons respected most included the RW head and the RT head. The leadership of the RW and RT heads, who had been in residence in the kampungs studied for at least 15 years, can be relied upon to mobilize the local population. Recognized leaders in the armed forces are also successful in mobilizing the people as are local religious and prominent senior leaders.

The Role of Women (Housewives)

The study showed that the role of women in social activities or those that support and supplement spouses' incomes is extremely important. Women, primarily housewives in the urban kampungs, are generally easy to mobilize. In this regard, a separate study is required to investigate their role and potential in improving the standard of living of their families and the general well-being of the people. Another important point is how to link the housewives' activities with efforts to handle juvenile delinquency, which as this study shows is a serious problem in both Jakarta and Ujung Pandang kampungs.

Conclusion

The results of the study showed clearly that there is a great need for government flexibility in delivering services in urban areas. At the moment, the very poor (the most deserving) are losing out rather than benefiting from well-intentioned government programs.

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Leaders, Officials, and Citizens in Urban Service Delivery: A Comparative Study of Four Localities in Hong Kong

Lau Siu-kai, Kuan Hsin-chi, and Ho Kam-fai

The key political/administrative problem standing in the way of effective urban service delivery in Hong Kong is intermediate leadership. The problem expresses itself specifically in the inability of the existing intermediate leadership to link government and the people, and to integrate itself effectively into the service delivery process. Thus, the urban service delivery system in Hong Kong is structurally deficient, and the associated problems will become worse if the system is not remodeled.

Over the past two decades, the government has assumed an expanded role in delivering services to a complex urban society whose populace, because of the decline of traditional social organizations and rising expectations, has been increasingly dependent on the public sector for meeting service and welfare needs. The demands on the public sector have recently brought to light the issues of administrative overload, bureaucratic inefficiency, inadequate coordination of programs and departments, insufficient resources, and conflict between government and the people with regard to service provision. These issues, unfortunately, are aggravated by weakened traditional social leadership in Chinese society, which leaves behind a wide gap between the government, as the major service provider, and the citizens, as recipients. Because of this gap, dissension between government and the public on the extent and urgency of social needs, scope and effectiveness of program impact, and adequacy and distribution of urban services persists, creating in its wake political problems that could potentially threaten social and political stability. The weakness of intermediate leadership is related to the unstructured, sporadic, individualistic, isolated, and even "uncompromising" character of the service demands directed at the government, which makes them unmanageable. Without intermediate leaders and organizations to channel and aggregate demands, government officials find it increasingly difficult to develop integrated service programs and establish goals that can muster widespread support and sympathy. The combative stance of some activist leaders and citizens' groups is evidence of the situation. In the absence of vibrant and active leadership, the government also finds it difficult to mobilize support from the people to initiate self-help activities and to assume some para-administrative duties on behalf of the government, both of which would relieve the government from some of the demands made upon it and at the same time lay down the social organizational infrastructure necessary for the people to better manage their own affairs.

That the moribund traditional leadership has so far not been displaced by an active modern leadership has to do with both the government and Chinese society.

As a colonial bureaucratic government, it has never been zealous in promoting organizational efforts among the ruled. Strictly speaking, an atomistic society is conducive to political stability. The Chinese elite are co-opted by the government as individuals with professional or specialized expertise. They are favoured by the government because of their advisory functions and not because of their organizational or popular bases. The removal of the Chinese elite hampers efforts to reorganize Chinese society along modern lines. In Chinese society, the pervasiveness of familistic ethos, materialistic aspirations, and instrumental views toward joint efforts poses serious obstacles to collective action. In addition, the natural, inexorable trend of social development will be toward further individualization, which is not conducive to organization building.

As a tightly organized bureaucratic government encounters a minimally organized society in the process of service delivery, the lack of effective intermediate leadership is sorely felt. Although the government is adopting a more tolerant attitude toward activist grass-roots leaders, it has yet to undertake more active efforts to cultivate leadership and encourage organization building through sharing with these leaders information, power, and other resources requisite for participatory service delivery. Participatory devices designed by the government — mutual-aid committees in residential buildings, area committees at the neighbourhood level, and district boards at the community level — are at best initial steps in that direction, and they need to be enlarged.

What is urgently needed in Hong Kong, at present, is information on the essential factors required to establish a more participatory service delivery system. More specifically, information on variables that can explain the occurrence of active and organizationally involved leaders would be extremely useful in terms of policy-making. Nevertheless, a monocratic bureaucratic government does not leave much autonomy to locally assigned officials to initiate policies that are area specific or experimental in nature. A much diluted sense of community identification and a dearth of strategic dissimilarities in organizational, cultural, and historical experiences among people in different localities also make it difficult to identify different patterns of leadership structure and performance. Therefore, to discover factors that can lead to a better understanding of leadership effectiveness, citizen participation, government responsiveness, and linkages among the three parties in Hong Kong, a research design that can maximize differences among localities is desirable.

The Four Localities

In the present study, four localities have been selected that exhibit maximum differences from each other. On the whole, the general characteristics of the four localities corroborate the general picture of urban service delivery depicted earlier for Hong Kong. Still, the differences among them are far from being random and insignificant. The four selected localities are: Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun (Fig. 1).

Kwun Tong is basically an industrial community that emerged after World War II. Socioeconomically, it is the most diversified locality in the sample. In 1981, it had a total population of 611285, made up of 145735 domestic households. Approximately 26% of the population was 14 years of age or less, whereas 13% was 55 years of age or older. A majority of the households lived in public housing estates (67.5%). About 56% of the households earned a monthly income of less than

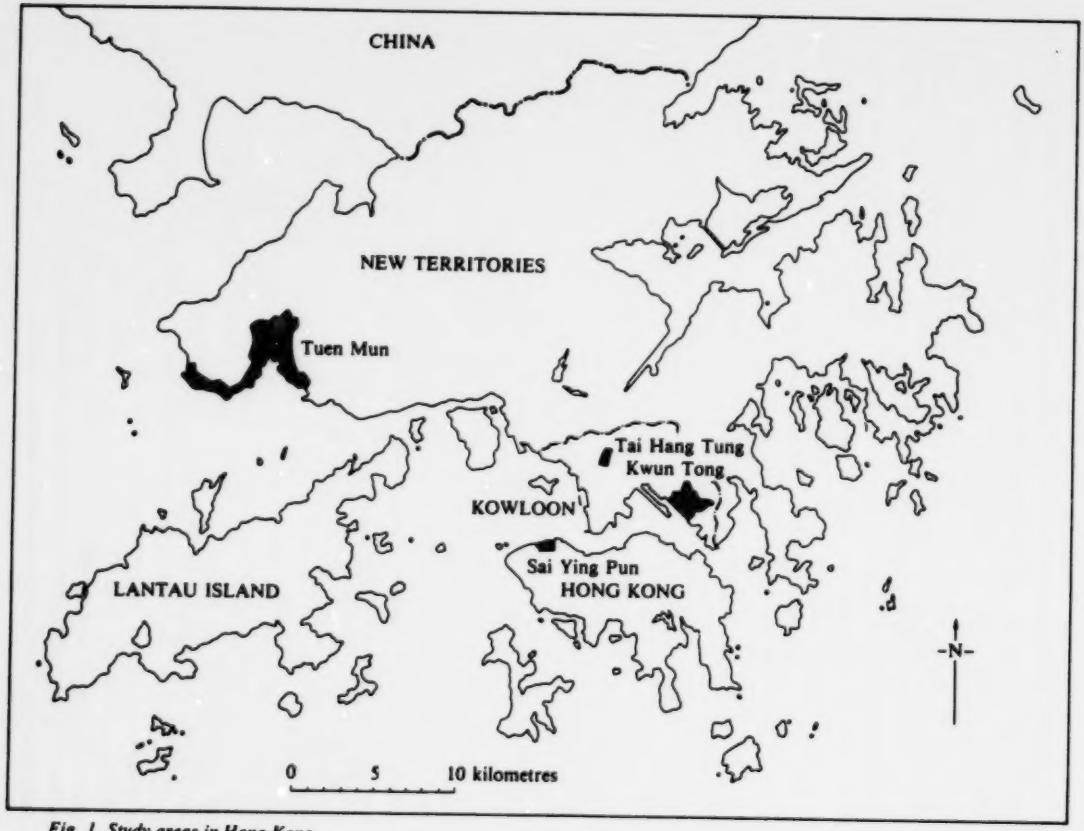

Fig. 1. Study areas in Hong Kong.

HKD 3000, whereas only 2% earned more than HKD 10000.[1] Home ownership was limited, with 19.1% of households owning their flats. A total of 304753 persons were economically active, 63% being production and related workers. The most distinctive feature of Kwun Tong is its administrative innovativeness. Kwun Tong was the first urban district to establish a district board, which is an advisory committee composed primarily of community leaders appointed by the government to assist with local administration. Institutionally, Kwun Tong is the locality in the sample with the most "complex" local administrative structure in modern Hong Kong.

Tuen Mun was planned by the government in the late 1970s to be a new industrial town, ultimately to provide living space for half a million people from overcrowded urban areas. As it is still in the initial stages of development, the early arrivals are still settling into the new community. Problems afflicting the community are complicated by the geographical isolation of the area from other urban areas. The need to work outside the community severely taxes available transportation facilities, as their provision falls behind construction of public housing.

In 1981, Tuen Mun had 27782 domestic households and a total population of 126883. Approximately 57% of the households resided in public housing, whereas only 22% owned their home. Compared with the other localities in this study, Tuen Mun had a particularly young population. About 36% of the population was 14 years of age or less and 10% was 55 years of age or older. About 65% of households has a monthly income of less than HKD 3000, whereas 2% enjoys an income of more than HKD 10000. The larger proportion of young persons in Tuen Mun was also reflected in the fact that 59% of the population was made up of first-time job seekers. Among those who were economically active, a majority (58%) was employed as production and related workers.

Despite its "newness," Tuen Mun has one of the oldest and most effective local leaderships in Hong Kong. Local leaders come from the ranks of the original inhabitants who lived in the area long before the transformation of Tuen Mun into a new town and the influx of outsiders. Even though the original inhabitants constitute only a small minority of the inhabitants of the area, they have long been involved in a representational system granted by the government to the original inhabitants of the rural areas of Hong Kong, called the New Territories. Although only advisory and consultative in nature, representatives elected by the original inhabitants over time are able to cultivate the skills required to deal with government. In many other parts of the New Territories, the process of rapid urbanization has brought about the decline of rural leadership. Fortunately, Tuen Mun is blessed with active and aggressive local leadership, which the original inhabitants still provide. Despite the fact that the representational status of these leaders is based on a narrow franchise, they strenuously assert an expansive leadership role in the budding new town. Utilizing their seasoned political clout extensively, they promote themselves as community-wide leaders by enlarging their constituency and addressing general issues. To date, their efforts have reaped substantial success, and their towering presence in the newly appointed district board testifies to this.

Compared with the other localities, Tai Hang Tung is a small residential area in which a group of relatively old, low-grade public housing estates dominates. A total of 5165 domestic households, for a population of 25545, found accommodations

[1] Hong Kong dollars (HKD) 5.5 = United States dollar (USD) 1.

in the area in 1981. Approximately 79% of the living quarters was made up of public housing. About 20% of the population was 14 years of age or younger and another 20% was 55 years of age or older. As the public housing estates were designed for low-income groups, it is not surprising to find skilled and unskilled manual workers dominating these estates. Tai Hang Tung can be described as a homogeneous working-class residential neighbourhood. Nevertheless, it differs from other similar neighbourhoods with respect to the organization and activism of its residents. Tai Hang Tung is noted for the demanding nature of its residents' organizations and the fair degree of success of their "protest" tactics. Through a succession of community organizations and with the help of external agents, a small group of active community leaders has come into being, and commands the respect cum jealousy of the numerous traditional progovernment local leaders in the area.

Of the localities being studied, Sai Ying Pun is the oldest community; in fact, it is one of the oldest in Hong Kong. To an outsider, Sai Ying Pun may present the image of a placid and quiet neighbourhood. Private apartment buildings dominate the area and many residents have been living there for generations. There seems to be an absence of the salient social problems that afflict other parts of Hong Kong. All of the inhabitants in Sai Ying Pun live in private dwellings. Of the 18199 domestic households living there in 1981, 36% owned their home. The age structure of the population of 68456 is fairly balanced, with 22% being 14 years of age or younger and 17% being 55 years of age or older. A study of the occupational structure of Sai Ying Pun reveals a largely lower-middle class community, with 21% of the economically active being clerical and related workers, 15% being sales workers, and 16% being service workers. These nonmanual workers also found a contingent of 12709 manual workers (37% of the economically active) among them. In terms of income, the residents of Sai Ying Pun were neither poor nor affluent. Approximately 49% of the households had a monthly income of less than HKD 3000, and only 5% had an income of HKD 10000 or more. Despite its lower-middle class background, Sai Ying Pun seems to lag behind the other localities in leadership activeness and administrative innovativeness. This observation may be confirmed by Sai Y: ıg Pun's lateness in appointing its district board.

The different socioeconomic characteristics of the four localities enable this study to make comparisons along several significant dimensions: residential/industrial, old/new, heterogeneous/homogeneous, active leadership/inactive leadership, institutionalized influence tactics/"protest" influence tactics, public housing area/private housing area, administrative change/lack of administrative change, and lower-middle class neighbourhood/lower class neighbourhood. That the significant dimensions far outnumber the cases necessarily impedes making definitive statements on causal effects. Nonetheless, such a research design permits exploring hypothetical relationships.

Research Design and Data Collection

As the major focus of this study is the mediating role of local leaders in the urban service delivery system, the primary task is to identify and delineate the network of relationships in which local officials, local leaders, and inhabitants are embedded. In pursuit of this end, information was collected on the normative and behavioural orientations of the three groups of people, their perception and evaluation of the roles of themselves and others, the ways they structure their relationships

in relation to others, their perception of and feelings for their communities and the major problems affecting them, and the collective efforts undertaken to improve community conditions and solve community problems. The data should reveal patterns of interactions among officials, leaders, and the people, as well as the factors that underlie these patterns.

A group of local officials and local leaders in each locality was interviewed in early 1982. To limit the scope of analysis, only local officials from four departments were selected for interviews, and in each locality the number of departments represented ranged from two to three. The departments included in each of the localities were: City District Office, Housing Department, and Social Welfare Department.

As Tai Hang Tung and Sai Ying Pun were not full-scale administrative districts, the government officials interviewed were in charge of larger territorial jurisdictions. Nevertheless, their attention was directed to the concerns of this study.

The rationale for selecting departments for interviews was primarily to maximize the normative and behavioural differences among officials. The exercise is to assess the impact of different task structures and settings on administrative outlook and behaviour. By virtue of the fact that three tasks are represented — management of public opinion and conflict, professional administration and delivery of services, and routine management of public housing estates — different approaches to coping with participation by leaders and citizens may emerge.

Because the departments approached were fully cooperative, the response rates were very high: 97% in Kwun Tong, 95% in Tuen Mun, 72% in Tai Hang Tung, and 78% in Sai Ying Pun. A total of 143 officials was interviewed in Kwun Tung, 75 in Tuen Mun, 39 in Tai Hang Tung, and 21 in Sai Ying Pun. In each local departmental office, officials from all ranks were interviewed, thus enabling us to construct a complete profile of local officials.

The definition of a local leader is rather vague in Hong Kong and some discretion must be exercised to circumscribe the domain of choice of individuals for interview purposes. With the research goals in mind, primarily the officers in charge of community associations of various kinds and at different territorial levels were interviewed. As most of these officers were involved in government-initiated associations (mutual-aid committees, area committees, district boards), a full list of them was obtained from the Home Affairs Department and the New Territories Administration. This list was supplemented with names of local leaders culled from other sources, but these names made up a small minority. Overall, 73 leaders were interviewed in Kwun Tong, 34 in Tuen Mun, 26 in Tai Hang Tung, and 58 in Sai Ying Pun, representing response rates of 73%, 71%, 87%, and 78% respectively.

Residents were interviewed in the summer of 1982. The response rates of residents were disappointing, confirming the trend of increasing difficulties in administering structured questionnaire interviews in modern Hong Kong. The sampling framework used was based on a 2% systematic sample of the household list prepared by the Census and Statistics Department from the 1981 census. In all, 330 interviews were conducted in Kwun Tong, 288 in Tuen Mun, 109 in Tai Hang Tung, and 226 in Sai Ying Pun, with response rates of 52%, 70%, 53%, and 50% respectively. These response rates compare poorly with response rates of 60–70% in other recent surveys.

Perception of Problems and Identification of Agents Responsible for Their Solution

Hong Kong is outstanding among developing countries for its rapid economic growth and strong family system. It is mainly for these reasons that the public sector has so far been able to abstain from taking on the burden of catering to all the basic needs of the populace. Still, the increasing complexity of an urban-industrial society creates problems that are different from those afflicting other developing countries.

On the whole, substantial proportions of the residents in the four localities were satisfied with their living environment: 43% in Kwun Tong, 69% in Tuen Mun, 49% in Tai Hang Tung, and 52% in Sai Ying Pun. When asked to compare their present living environment with past living environments, a majority reported an improvement: 70% in Kwun Tong, 72% in Tuen Mun, 82% in Tai Hang Tung, and 56% in Sai Ying Pun.

Against this background of satisfaction with living conditions, it is not surprising that when queried on the most serious problem facing a locality, residents point to problems beyond the necessities (potable water, sewage and garbage disposal, food supply, etc.) of urban living (Table 1). They aspire to an improvement in life-style and an expansion of urban facilities. To a certain extent, the perceptions of community problems by officials, leaders, and residents are similar, although there are sufficient differences that one suspects inadequate communication among them and that different criteria are employed to determine priorities. The similarities in socioeconomic middle-class backgrounds of officials and leaders might have facilitated their common perception of problems facing the community and set them apart from the public in general.

Closely related to the perception of urgent community problems in the locality is the residents' assessment of the adequacy of public facilities. If the responses "very adequate," "adequate," and "fairly adequate," are combined, 35% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, 33% in Tuen Mun, 53% in Tai Hang Tung, and 29%, in Sai Ying Pun consider the public facilities adequate. On the whole, a majority of residents expressed dissatisfaction with the availability of public facilities in their areas. Between Tai Hang Tung and Sai Ying Pun, the difference in the levels of satisfaction was substantial. Satisfaction with the provision of welfare and services by the government was greater. Only 33%, 53%, 29%, and 36% of the residents in Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun, respectively, consider government welfare and services to be inadequate.

As community problems considered urgent by residents, leaders, and officials tend to take on a "general" and "public-goods" character, it is almost inevitable that the government is pinpointed as being the primary agent responsible for solving the problems. The dependence on the government to cope with community problems is quite overwhelming. When asked if community problems could be dealt with by the residents, those answering in the affirmative constituted only 13%, 17%, 11%, and 16% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun respectively. This lack of a sense of capability was almost universal. As to the reasons for this attitude, it is remarkable that, by and large, personal attributes were alluded to, but factors such as leadership and organization were rarely called to mind. A similar reliance upon the government to deal with community problems was also shown by local leaders and local officials. Although local leaders and officials in the communities relied upon government to, basically,

Table 1. Perception of most urgent community problems (%).

	Kwun Tong			Tuen Mun			Tai Hang Tung			Sai Ying Pun		
	Leaders	Officials	Residents	Leaders	Officials	Residents	Leaders	Officials	Residents	Leaders	Officials	Residents
Housing	40	41	15	—	—	—	19	36	15	14	38	—
Public services and facilities	23	22	—	51	51	—	19	28	—	52	38	—
Social welfare and improvement	—	—	—	—	13	—	19	—	—	—	—	—
Public security	—	17	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—
Industrial/economic development	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Transportation	—	—	27	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	31
Medical and health services	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	18	—	—	—
Culture, recreation, and sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12

Note: For leaders and officials, transportation is included under "public services and facilities."

the same extent, local officials in Sai Ying Pun were more willing to look beyond the government for ways to solve community problems. This anomaly is primarily a result of the absence of more "routine-oriented" and, hence, government-oriented housing officials in the area.

Considering the nature of community problems, the prominence of government as a problem solver is easy to comprehend. It is difficult, however, to understand why the government also figured prominantly as the agent for solving family problems — living conditions and financial needs being cited most frequently by respondents as urgent family problems. Among respondents who reported the incidence of family problems, self, family, and government were the three agents most often referred to as being able to solve the problems, with government being cited most often. As to whether the responsible problem-solvers had made attempts to deal with family problems, a fair proportion of respondents answered in the affirmative: 49% in Kwun Tong, 48% in Tuen Mun, 47% in Tai Hang Tung, and 29% in Sai Ying Pun. Again, Sai Ying Pun was outstanding in its less "responsible" problem-solving agents.

It is clear that although community and family problems were prevalent in the four localities, the residents generally lacked the ability to take these problems into their own hands. Instead, they looked to the government for assistance and held it responsible for their plight. On the surface, at least, localities that were industrial in character tended to receive more attention from the government. More importantly, however, localities supposedly having more active leaders saw more efforts on the part of the government to improve community and family conditions. Kwun Tong, although having less active leadership than Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung, could, to a certain degree, prompt the government to act through its institutionalized advisory mechanisms. Without active leadership and an advanced advisory system, residents in Sai Ying Pun remained the most frustrated and received the least attention from the government.

Utilization of Public and Private Services

In view of the prevalence of community and family problems, the shortage of public facilities, and the less-than-adequate provision of welfare and services by the government, it is most puzzling that respondents rarely took advantage of services provided by public and voluntary sectors. Nor did they supplement their limited resources by borrowing from their relatives and friends. Only an extremely small number of respondents had ever contacted government departments for assistance. Similarly, voluntary associations and public bodies, such as the Kaifong Association (neighbourhood association), mutual-aid committee, voluntary welfare organization, urban council, rural committee, and district board are underutilized.

The negligible significance of primary intimates as a source of help can be partially attributed to the changing nature of problems that affect the people. It is true that when general, community-wide problems are concerned, friends and relatives are irrelevant. The services of friends and relatives, on the other hand, are essential when it comes to the basic needs for survival in the urban setting. As the respondents have already passed the stage of struggling for bare physical existence, dependency upon primary intimates is no longer important. Why then, are the services and resources of government, public organizations, and voluntary organi-

zations not utilized more extensively by the respondents? One probable reason is the general lack of organization and leadership among the people. The few respondents who reported having contacted these agencies did so seeking trivial returns and not as a group pressing for changes in social conditions.

Profile of Local Officials

Government functions in Hong Kong are performed by a tightly organized and centralized bureaucracy headed primarily by expatriate officials. Over the years, government officials have evolved a set of standardized, formalized, and distinctive administrative procedures for conducting their public affairs. The content of these procedures owes largely to precedents, past experience, directives from superiors, and the pursuit of efficiency, but rarely to political pressure from society. Accountability of individual officials is attained mainly by in-house means: bureaucratic hierarchy, narrow but clear-cut quality-control regulations, and vigilant budgetary control. Especially over the last two decades, the bureaucracy has been criticized for its rigidity, nonresponsiveness, insufficient concern for program goals, and overemphasis on "value for money" as the measure of priorities.

In this political/administrative setting, the distance between the government and the people is widening. This problem is not alleviated by local governments, which are closer to the people, because they simply do not exist. Only in recent years have efforts been stepped up to decentralize the bureaucracy by setting up regional and district offices all over the colony. However, officials dispatched to the localities are still denied important decision-making power or financial autonomy. In addition, the objective of shortening the distance between officials and the people is not being helped by the constant turnover of those officials who have been assigned to local areas.

The reluctance of the government to establish a more stable and lasting relationship between officials and the people in the localities may be explained in several ways. Above all, it is politically imperative for the colonial government to rule in a depoliticized environment. The fear of political turbulence is always in the minds of top officials. To maintain its rule, the bureaucracy needs to be unified, coherent, and conflict free. The positioning of "permanent" local officials that are responsive to local demands will have undesirable effects: the possibility of corruption, collusion between local officials and local interests, bureaucratic infighting among officials claiming to represent diverse local constituencies, erosion of central power, and "dual" allegiance among rank-and-file officials. In that event, a politically turbulent environment can no longer be forestalled.

Against this background, it is understandable that most officials in the sample had worked in the localities for less than 5 years: 91% in Kwun Tong, 88% in Tuen Mun, 90% in Tai Hang Tung, and 82% in Sai Ying Pun. Many of these officials expected to be reassigned to other offices or localities in due time.

Among the officials who responded, a relatively high sense of complacency and esprit de corps can be discerned. Many would not accept job offers from the private sector and a majority was satisfied with being employed by the government. Relationships among officials across ranks were good.

In their value orientations, they are a homogeneous lot, attesting to the success of in-service socialization in instilling a common administrative culture among

officials. Table 2 presents the responses of officials to questions designed to gauge their values with regard to authority, decision-making style, participation, localism, action propensity, change, and responsibility. Several observations may be made based on the results. First, elitism is highly visible in the outlook of the respondents, which leads to an emphasis on independent judgment that is unencumbered by the fleeting, whimsical desires of the people. Second, there is a moderate tendency to accommodate diverse interests and, hence, a fair level of tolerance for people speaking out. Responsiveness on the part of the government, however, does not mean acting in accordance with popular demands. Third, there is a hesitancy to become involved in risky endeavours; however, under some circumstances, it is felt that moderate changes are necessary. Finally, the sense of localism is low. It can safely be presumed that, in the mind of officials, "general" interests should override local interests. In short, officials are wary of the guardian role played by government, jealous of their decision-making autonomy, receptive to a limited degree to citizen participation, and espousing cosmopolitan sentiments.

Homogeneity of administrative culture, however, does not necessarily preclude minor differences in outlook and behaviour among officials. Officials posted to the more homogeneous residential areas (Tai Hang Tung and Sai Ying Pun) are less likely to think that departmental rules are not applicable to local conditions. Obviously, the more heterogeneous environment in industrial areas poses more challenging problems to the application of standard regulations and orders. Specifically, the proportions of officials who felt departmental regulations were inappropriate for local conditions were 48%, 43%, 31%, and 10% in Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun respectively.

Officials differ in their perception of the adequacy of their decision-making power at the local level. In Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun, 57%, 35%, 51%, and 57%, respectively, of the respondents considered their decision-making powers to be adequate. The point to be noted here is that in areas with less active and assertive leaders, the feeling of a lack of power is less apparent.

Some differences in the value orientations of local officials may also be discerned. Officials in Sai Ying Pun are more sympathetic to citizen participation but, at the same time, they are also more concerned with maintaining the government's independence in decision-making and leadership. Overall, officials exhibit an enlightened paternalistic attitude. Tai Hang Tung officials, on the other hand, are more inclined to compromise to avoid conflicts with the people. Along with officials in Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung officials are more adverse to preserving harmony at the expense of resolving conflict and are more agreeable to speedy decision-making. Officials in industrial areas (Kwun Tong and Tuen Mun) are less sympathetic to innovative ways of conducting public business, probably because of the variable impact of innovations on heterogeneous communities.

Thus, different community settings tend to bring about modifications in officials' valuational and behavioural characteristics. At best, what officials will do is inject a certain degree of flexibility into the process of rule application, but even in this respect their autonomy is circumscribed.

Profile of Local Leaders

Compared with local officials and residents, local leaders in the four localities exhibited more systematic contrasts. In a very crude manner, four types of local

Table 2. Value orientation of local officials (percentage of respondents who agreed with or agreed very much with the listed statements).

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Value identification				
To advance their interests, it is essential that citizens be allowed to elect representatives to oversee the government.	73	76	74	91
Even if Hong Kong's economic development will thus be slowed down, it is still worthwhile for government to provide more social services.	46	52	54	43
If civil servants are allowed to criticize the government openly, its administrative performance will improve.	36	35	49	52
Decision-making style				
If the public disagrees with the policies of government, it should discard them.	28	24	33	19
Government should not seek to please everybody. It should act in accordance with conscience and should not be concerned that some powerful figures in society will thus be offended.	92	84	77	86
Conflict orientation				
It is more important to preserve social harmony than to successfully implement public policies.	56	48	46	57
Attitude toward citizen participation				
Problems in modern societies are too complicated; therefore, only the simple problems should be open for public discussion.	25	19	15	19
It is important to let citizens express their opinions before policies are decided, even if doing so would slow down the decision-making process.	77	80	77	81

Only those with a good understanding of relevant issues should be allowed to participate in the policy-making process.	64	69	44	62
Localism				
Even though affairs related to Hong Kong as a whole are important, we should first concern ourselves with problems in the locality where we work.	47	55	36	48
Things beneficial to the locality where I work must also benefit Hong Kong as a whole.	13	20	21	19
Action tendencies				
Even for a trivial matter, I like to think it over thoroughly before taking action.	72	76	64	81
Decision-making on major issues must be fast, even though doing so will result in certain undesirable aftereffects.	27	44	31	29
Change orientation				
A society should not adopt new programs that would upset established ways of conducting business.	15	20	10	5
Those who always express dissatisfaction with existing arrangements usually forget that new ways of doing things carry with them the possibility of bringing about even worse consequences.	63	59	46	52
Sense of responsibility				
Civil servants should not act against their sense of righteousness, even if it would mean losing their jobs.	48	60	54	43
Civil servants have a responsibility to act in accordance with public opinion, even if they consider it to be erroneous.	6	9	8	38

leaders can be distinguished: (1) a moderately active leadership in Kwun Tong enveloped in a more experienced local advisory system; (2) an active and assertive leadership in Tuen Mun based largely on individual personalities cultured in demand-making actions; (3) an active and assertive leadership in Tai Hang Tung sustained by externally-induced residential organizations and nurtured in "protest" and confrontation exercises; and (4) an inactive leadership in Sai Ying Pun.

Leaders in all four areas were involved in voluntary associations, and a majority were officers-in-charge (81% in Kwun Tong, 80% in Tuen Mun, 77% in Tai Hang Tung, and 78% in Sai Ying Pun). It must be stressed that most of these voluntary community organizations were ineffective and insignificant. Interorganizational relationships were almost nonexistent, and their level of activity low. To most leaders, the issue of competition or cooperation among organizations simply did not arise. In fact, most leaders joined fewer than two voluntary associations. Thus, the term active applies only to a small number of leaders and organizations. By and large, inactive leaders are in the majority.

To determine the leadership structure, respondents were asked to give the names of the leaders in their community. Most respondents were able to come up with individual names. Because of the large number of names mentioned, however, it is doubtful that well-established, prominent local leaders really exist (17 in Kwun Tong, 16 in Tuen Mun, 10 in Tai Hang Tung, and 12 in Sai Ying Pun). This observation is confirmed by the fact that, except in Tuen Mun, the names mentioned most often in each locality were mentioned by only a few respondents. A large proportion of officials were also able to name local leaders, but basically the same pattern of answers emerged. With respect to the residents, a majority failed to report the names of local leaders. Judging from the slightly better ability of local officials to recall the names of leaders, local leadership appears to be more of an administrative phenomenon rather than a social phenomenon. Leaders were more familiar with adjuncts to the administrative structure deliberately nurtured by the government than spontaneous outgrowths from community organizations and popular needs.

The value orientations of local leaders can be depicted by comparing them with those of local officials. Responses to a set of questions similar to those given to local officials are recorded in Table 3.

Compared with local officials, local leaders are more authoritarian, more elitist, and less daring in policy innovations. They place more emphasis on social harmony and accommodating conflicting interests. They express more localistic sentiments and are more tolerant of a demanding public. They want more welfare and services, but they rely on the government to provide them. On the whole, many are inactive and dependent leaders.

Differences in value orientations among leaders in the localities can, however, be discerned. As these variations are fairly systematic, they serve to illuminate the conditions facilitating or impeding the appearance of active leaders.

Leaders in residential areas (Tai Hang Tung and Sai Ying Pun) are more authoritarian than leaders in industrial communities (Kwun Tong and Tuen Mun). They are more disposed toward government discarding new policies that would arouse opposition from society. They want more welfare and services from the government. They are less tolerant of unconventional tactics used to influence government policies. They are more emphatic on the right of leaders to exercise independent judgment on behalf of the people.

Between the residential areas (Tai Hang Tung and Sai Ying Pun), some differences in leadership orientation are also evident. Leaders in Tai Hang Tung are disposed toward allowing the public to express their opinions, but they are also more elitist in the sense that they admit only those with the appropriate information and expertise to take part in the decision-making process. Localistic feelings are stronger in Tai Hang Tung, and leaders there are inclined to take speedy action and less willing to wait until the opposition is won over.

When comparing the two industrial communities (Tuen Mun and Kwun Tong), it is difficult to escape the distinctiveness of Tuen Mun's leaders. As a result of the existence of more potential sources of conflict in a new town, the role of the government as an arbitrator among conflicting interests is evident. Under these circumstances, the greater desire of Tuen Mun's leaders for an independent government capable of accommodating diverse interests makes sense. This awareness of conflict by Tuen Mun's leaders is also reflected in their greater insistence on government refraining from making socially divisive policies. One puzzling finding, however, is that despite the geographical isolation of Tuen Mun, its leaders show the weakest sense of localism. This may be a result of the recent development of the new town and the short time many of the leaders have been there. The age of the leaders might also be a factor. With the youngest leadership (54% of the leaders were younger than 40 years of age) of the four localities, it is natural that a more cosmopolitan outlook is found in Tuen Mun.

Profile of Residents

In studying the residents, attention was directed to social relationships and the way people perceive and participate in community affairs.

The residents are both passive and nonparticipative. The dissimilarities found among the four groups of leaders are not translated to parallel dissimilarities among the residents. Although some differences in attitudes are discerned, few differences exist in actual participative behaviour. It seems that active leadership in Hong Kong has yet to reach a point that is conducive to participatory activities.

Few residents in the localities are proud of their communities. Community pride was felt by only 33% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, 51% in Tuen Mun, 39% in Tai Hang Tung, and 37% in Sai Ying Pun. Their concern for local affairs was generally low. Those who claimed to have great interests in local affairs made up 42% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, 45% in Tuen Mun, 32% in Tai Hang Tung, and 41% in Sai Ying Pun. Even fewer respondents discussed local affairs with others: 44% in Kwun Tong, 46% in Tuen Mun, 24% in Tai Hang Tung, and 27% in Sai Ying Pun. It is worth noting that people in residential areas were less interested in local affairs than their counterparts in industrial areas. To obtain information on local affairs, residents relied upon mass media: 56% in Kwun Tong, 43% in Tuen Mun, 16% in Tai Hang Tung, and 42% in Sai Ying Pun. In contrast, 10% of the respondents in Tuen Mun and 18% in Tai Hang Tung cited neighbours as a source of local information. Another 10% of the residents in Tai Hang Tung relied upon community leaders and organizations for information. Thus, in the two areas where more active leaders were found, the dominance of mass media was reduced. Still, the role of local leadership had not been sufficiently enhanced. As the local press in Hong Kong is still in its infancy, and television does not pay much

Table 3. Value orientations of local leaders (percentage of respondents who agreed with or agreed very much with the listed statements).

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Value identification				
"Obedience to and respect for those in authority" are virtues that every child should learn.	59	43	77	74
To advance their interests, it is essential that citizens be allowed to elect representatives to oversee the government.	86	97	100	90
Even if Hong Kong's economic development will thus be slowed down, it is still worthwhile for government to provide more social services.	78	83	96	85
Decision-making style				
If the policies of the government are opposed by the public, it should discard them.	51	46	61	55
Government should not seek to please everybody. It should act in accordance with conscience and should not be concerned that some powerful figures in society will thus be offended.	75	89	77	83
Public policies should, as much as possible, accommodate diverse, conflicting interests.	85	94	81	86
Conflict orientation				
It is more important to preserve social harmony than to successfully implement public policies.	67	66	88	86
A good government should refrain from proposing policies that would lead to conflicts among citizens, even though these policies are important to society as a whole.	47	31	46	36
The citizens of Hong Kong are becoming increasingly active in pressing demands on the government to further their interests and uphold their rights. This is a healthy phenomenon.	71	86	65	64

Attitude toward citizen participation				
Problems in modern societies are too complicated; therefore, only the simple problems should be open for public discussion.	41	20	42	38
It is important and worthwhile to let all citizens express their opinions before public policies are decided, even though doing so would mean that additional time is needed to finalize decisions.	90	86	82	79
Only those with a good understanding of relevant issues should be allowed to participate in the policy-making process.	62	57	81	64
Localism				
Even though affairs related to Hong Kong as a whole are important, we should first concern ourselves with problems in the locality where we belong.	62	54	69	60
Things beneficial to the locality where I belong must also benefit Hong Kong as a whole.	53	26	50	52
Action tendencies				
Even for a trivial matter, I like to think it over thoroughly before taking action.	88	74	89	83
Decision-making on major issues must be fast, even though doing so will result in certain undesirable aftereffects.	37	37	62	45
Change orientation				
A society should not adopt a new program that would upset established ways of conducting business.	29	43	39	47
Those who always express dissatisfaction with existing arrangements usually forget that new ways of doing things carry with them the possibility of bringing about even worse consequences.	41	60	39	52
Sense of responsibility				
Community leaders should not act against their sense of righteousness, even though it might mean losing their position of leadership.	75	89	81	85
Community leaders have a responsibility to act in accordance with public opinion, even if they consider it to be erroneous.	12	6	19	26
Good community leaders would first convince their opponents before acting on controversial problems.	81	74	65	78

attention to local affairs, the role of mass media as transmitters of local information is limited.

The respondents are well integrated in small social networks. Approximately 57% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, 44% in Tuen Mun, 51% in Tai Hang Tung, and 69% in Sai Ying Pun had three or more friends and relatives in their communities. About 43% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, 29% in Tuen Mun, 37% in Tai Hang Tung, and 43% in Sai Ying Pun had more than 10 close friends in their localities. With respect to visiting relatives and friends outside the community, 35% of the respondents in Kwun Tong, 59% in Tuen Mun, 49% in Tai Hang Tung, and 50% in Sai Ying Pun indicated they made such visits every few weeks or less. Relationships among neighbours were good across all localities and interactions among neighbours were frequent. Residents in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung tended to have closer relationships with their neighbours than residents in Kwun Tong and Sai Ying Pun. Greater emphasis on the nonprimary ties with neighbours is conducive to a more favourable perception of collective action, which in turn will sustain active leadership. This hypothesis is corroborated by the following data:

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Direct contact with an official	40%	31%	31%	50%
Take collective action with others	34%	43%	45%	26%

The slightly more collectivist predilection of Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung residents does not mean that they are more dependent upon government for tackling community problems. This is reflected in the responses to the question of the best way to solve community problems.

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Expand government activities	56%	49%	46%	39%
Mobilize and organize residents	17%	24%	26%	13%

These attitudinal differences were not paralleled by behavioural accomplishments. Although 40% of the respondents in Kwun Tong had heard of organized efforts to improve living conditions in the area, only 22% participated in them. The corresponding figures for the other localities were: 38 and 25% in Tuen Mun, 46 and 16% in Tai Hang Tung, and 14 and 16% in Sai Ying Pun. In fact, the major division here is between the more active industrial communities and the less active residential communities. It must be noted that the kinds of organized efforts mentioned by the respondents were trivial, small-scale, and short-lived efforts. Their demand on the time and energy of the participants was minimal.

Relationships Among Officials, Leaders, and Residents

In an attempt to understand the tripartite relationships among officials, leaders, and residents in the four localities, attitudes and evaluations of each group for the other two, and the structure of the relationships must be probed. In the process, any possible discrepancies in the reports of each pair of groups that might affect their interaction will be noted.

Official–Leader Relationship

Local officials and leaders maintain a cordial but distant relationship. Each group harbours a certain amount of respect for the other, but a strand of instrumentalism can be felt in the relationship. Most of the time local leaders approach officials as individuals, and they rarely resort to collective confrontation. Leaders are only loosely integrated into administrative activities and the decision-making process. Officials tend to have more favourable opinions of leaders than leaders have of themselves.

From the perspective of local officials, the most important criterion of good leadership is interest in the public cause. This trait was identified by 30% of the officials in Kwun Tong, 41% in Tuen Mun, 41% in Tai Hang Tung, and 39% in Sai Ying Pun. With respect to other criteria of good leadership, 18% of the respondents in Tai Hang Tung chose "active participation in local affairs," whereas 33% of the respondents in Sai Ying Pun picked "capability." Because participation in local affairs touches upon leaders' organizational involvement, whereas capability has more to do with individual quality, it may be surmised that the more active leaders in Tai Hang Tung had somehow impressed local officials.

Given their criteria for good leadership, about half of the officials consider local leaders in their localities to be good leaders: 50% in Kwun Tong, 41% in Tuen Mun, 54% in Tai Hang Tung, and 48% in Sai Ying Pun. A significant proportion of respondents in each locality attributed private interest motives to local leaders, the percentages being higher in the industrial communities: 37% in Kwun Tong, 51% in Tuen Mun, 23% in Tai Hang Tung, and 29% in Sai Ying Pun. One reason for this outcome may be greater ambition on the part of leaders in industrial localities, who have aspirations to advance their careers. Judging from other observations, however, it does not appear that different levels of private interest by officials had measurable effects on their relationship with local leaders.

With respect to contacts among officials and local leaders, less than half of the officials had "many" or "very many" contacts with local leaders (34% in Kwun Tong, 20% in Tuen Mun, 47% in Tai Hang Tung, and 40% in Sai Ying Pun). The more frequent contacts observed in the residential areas of Tai Hang Tung and Sai Ying Pun might signify closer official–leader relationships in homogeneous residential settings. Nevertheless, it also seems that most of these contacts were conducted mainly in formal settings, e.g., the most important channels used by officials to learn about the opinions of local leaders were meetings (31%) and personal contact (19%) in Kwun Tong, meetings (29%) and personal contact (15%) in Tuen Mun, meetings (28%) in Tai Hang Tung, and meetings (19%) in Sai Ying Pun. That personal contact was one of the major channels in the industrial areas of Kwun Tong and Tuen Mun would certainly qualify the previous observation of a closer relationship between officials and leaders in the two residential areas.

As shown in Table 4, the opinions of officials on the performance of local leaders are favourable. Because the four areas are concerned with the para-administrative and supportive functions that leaders perform on behalf of officials, the figures indicate that, to officials at least, local leaders have played a significant subsidiary/complementary role in day-to-day administration. The less active leaders in Sai Ying Pun are less highly regarded.

More than half of the leaders (52% in Kwun Tong, 78% in Tuen Mun, 57% in Tai Hang Tung, and 57% in Sai Ying Pun) are seen by officials as possessing

Table 4. Officials' evaluation of leaders (percentage of officials who felt local leaders possessed the abilities listed).

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Influence policy-making	48	44	49	24
Provide useful information on local officials	63	57	62	67
Assist in policy implementation	62	56	64	48
Mobilize public support for local officials	61	63	67	57

multifaceted influence, which means that specialized leadership is still in short supply in local areas. From the viewpoint of officials, most of the leaders exerted their influence on local officials (67% in Kwun Tong, 48% in Tuen Mun, 58% in Tai Hang Tung, and 71% in Sai Ying Pun). Outsiders were seen as possessing less influence in local affairs (48% in Kwun Tong, 29% in Tuen Mun, 46% in Tai Hang Tung, and nil in Sai Ying Pun). Two points can thus be noted. First, Tuen Mun leaders were considered to be more influential than other leaders and they could influence higher-level officials in central offices. Second, both the industrial community of Kwun Tong and the residential community of Tai Hang Tung could bolster the influence of local leaders with support from outsiders. Thus, Sai Ying Pun had the least ability to influence officials because of a lack of access to higher officials and because of a lack of intervention by outside leaders.

These differing levels of influence, on the part of local leaders, as perceived by officials, are also reflected by the existence of influential organizations. The proportions of officials confirming the existence of influential organizations were: 47% in Kwun Tong, 59% in Tuen Mun, 62% in Tai Hang Tung, and 24% in Sai Ying Pun. The existence of influential organizations in local areas does not necessarily obstruct administrative work. In fact, most officials agreed that the government should strengthen these organizations (78% in Kwun Tong, 79% in Tuen Mun, 85% in Tai Hang Tung, and 81% in Sai Ying Pun). However, it is difficult to determine whether the favourable opinion of local officials was a result of general expectations stimulated by administrative "theories" or the so far nonthreatening nature of local leadership. It is important to note the greater effectiveness of local leaders in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung.

With regard to the leaders, it is worth noting their loose structural relationship with the government and their unfavourable evaluation of the government's performance. Although many leaders rated their relationship with government as good or very good (75% in Kwun Tong, 71% in Tuen Mun, 54% in Tai Hang Tung, and 69% in Sai Ying Pun), they had only meagre connections with officials. Few leaders contacted local officials once a week or more (16% in Kwun Tong, 20% in Tuen Mun, nil in Tai Hang Tung, and 2% in Sai Ying Pun). The same was true of their contacts with outside officials of higher rank (17% in Kwun Tong, 9% in Tuen Mun, 23% in Tai Hang Tung, and 5% in Sai Ying Pun). While most leaders thought that contacts with local officials were more useful (55% in Kwun Tong, 57% in Tuen Mun, 58% in Tai Hang Tung, and 62% in Sai Ying Pun), they felt their influence on government was quite limited.

Local leaders are only occasionally involved in government work, and for leaders in residential areas, their involvement is even more limited. On the other hand, the government is seen by some leaders as trying to intervene in their own and their organizations' activities, e.g., 27% of leaders in Kwun Tong, 37% in Tuen

Mun, 46% in Tai Hang Tung, and 21% in Sai Ying Pun accused the government of such intervention. The government was also seen as favouring particular leaders and, accordingly, giving preferential treatment to them. This feeling was held more intensely in industrial communities (53% in Kwun Tong, 63% in Tuen Mun, 38% in Tai Hang Tung, and 33% in Sai Ying Pun). Those favoured most by government included the wealthy (picked by 23% of respondents) and the cooperative (18%) in Kwun Tong, certain individuals (41%) and selected members of the Heung Yee Kuk (Rural Consultative Committee) and the Rural Committee (32%) in Tuen Mun, those with leadership skills (30%) in Tai Hang Tung, and the wealthy (32%) in Sai Ying Pun. The government was also seen as trying to divide local leaders to manipulate them.

Combined with their inability to influence government, the sense of frustration among local leaders is exhibited even further by the fact that they are dissatisfied with the government's performance in their localities. Less than half of the local leaders rate the government as having done a "good" or "very good" job in their areas (37% in Kwun Tong, 43% in Tuen Mun, 42% in Tai Hang Tung, and 22% in Sai Ying Pun). Furthermore, less than half of the leaders had great confidence in government policies (38% in Kwun Tong, 43% in Tuen Mun, 27% in Tai Hang Tung, and 31% in Sai Ying Pun).

Despite their dissatisfaction with the government's performance, leaders were, for the most part, passive and timid. This is understandable, however, in view of the overwhelmingly powerful and cohesive bureaucracy and the organizational weakness of the leaders. Most of the leaders interviewed did not have any ideas about taking over some government functions. Only 36% of the leaders in Kwun Tong, 29% in Tuen Mun, 31% in Tai Hang Tung, and 16% in Sai Ying Pun thought that their organizations should be allowed to take over some of the existing functions of government. In their minds the leaders thought that confrontation tactics were effective in forcing officials to respond (75% in Kwun Tong, 86% in Tuen Mun, 58% in Tai Hang Tung, and 52% in Sai Ying Pun). The reluctance, on the part of the leaders, to confront government collectively explains why a substantial proportion of leaders deem it essential that personal connections with government officials be established for effective leadership (48% in Kwun Tong, 51% in Tuen Mun, 62% in Tai Hang Tung, and 44% in Sai Ying Pun).

In conclusion, although most leaders in the four localities can be described as being inactive, the few active individuals and organizations in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung seem to have brought about some changes in the attitude of other leaders through their actions.

Official–Resident Relationship

In relating to citizens, our officials tended to display complacency and a sense of security in their power together with an appreciation for citizen participation. With respect to the performance of local officials, however, some discrepancies in perception and evaluation existed between officials and citizens. The weak structural linkage between the two resulted in infrequent mutual contacts.

The complacency of officials is obvious, with most declaring that they had undertaken a great deal of work for their localities (92% in Kwun Tong, 89% in Tuen Mun, 85% in Tai Hang Tung, and 86% in Sai Ying Pun). Among those who so declared, more than half stated that they were, accordingly, commended by the

citizens (57% in Kwun Tong, 45% in Tuen Mun, 64% in Tai Hang Tung, and 39% in Sai Ying Pun). On the whole, officials were satisfied with the utilization of their services by citizens (74% in Kwun Tong, 64% in Tuen Mun, 57% in Tai Hang Tung, and 81% in Sai Ying Pun). It is interesting to note that officials in areas with more active leaders and citizens are, comparatively speaking, less satisfied with the amount their services are being utilized by citizens. Whether it is because they set higher standards to evaluate service utilization or because they think that citizens in these two localities by-pass them to procure services from the government is difficult to determine.

Officials only maintain a moderate volume of contacts with citizens. Only 30% of officials in Kwun Tong meet with 50 or more citizens per month; the figures for Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun are 21%, 26%, and 29% respectively. The lower percentages in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung may mean that residents choose channels other than officials as a means to solve personal or community problems.

For those citizens who make contacts with officials, personal problems and needs loom large. Approximately 69% of the officials in Kwun Tong indicated that more than 50% of the residents who approached them came to discuss personal problems; this may be compared with 53% in Tuen Mun, 62% in Tai Hang Tung, and 70% in Sai Ying Pun.

Officials have relatively low opinions of citizens as participants in public affairs. Few officials feel that residents are concerned with local affairs, but those in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung are perceived as being more active than others (14% in Kwun Tong, 33% in Tuen Mun, 28% in Tai Hang Tung, and nil in Sai Ying Pun). Most officials attribute this low level of participation to a lack of time on the part of residents. On the other hand, citizens are seen by officials as becoming increasingly active in asserting their influence on government, particularly those in industrial communities (54% in Kwun Tong, 65% in Tuen Mun, 44% in Tai Hang Tung, and 19% in Sai Ying Pun).

More than half of the officials asserted that more than half of the residents in their areas understood administrative procedures and were sympathetic with the administrative point of view (49% in Kwun Tong, 65% in Tuen Mun, 47% in Tai Hang Tung, and 65% in Sai Ying Pun). Officials in areas with more active leaders and residents felt less strongly about the need for government to account for its decisions (64% in Kwun Tong, 51% in Tuen Mun, 46% in Tai Hang Tung, and 81% in Sai Ying Pun). A higher level of citizen participation did not seem to suggest to officials that their decision-making power would be curtailed as a result, as more than half maintained that they could retain their decision-making power even in the face of stepped-up citizen participation (54% in Kwun Tong, 55% in Tuen Mun, 77% in Tai Hang Tung, and 55% in Sai Ying Pun). It may be concluded that local officials in Hong Kong still view citizen participation as an appendage of administration, rather than as a political issue requiring reallocation of power.

With respect to the residents, their relationship with officials is a simple and detached relationship. In general, they endorse the existing political system and, notwithstanding its deficiencies, consider it appropriate to Hong Kong (53% in Kwun Tong, 56% in Tuen Mun, 49% in Tai Hang Tung, and 58% in Sai Ying Pun). To the residents, the government is a complex monster, and a substantial proportion of residents has difficulty comprehending the work of the government (54% in Kwun

Tong, 62% in Tuen Mun, 56% in Tai Hang Tung, and 41% in Sai Ying Pun). That the residents of Sai Ying Pun, with its slightly higher socioeconomic status, should feel the complexity more intensely than the residents in Tai Hang Tung may be a result of their passive leadership and minor involvement in community affairs. Another paradoxical finding in the relationship between citizens and officials is that although the citizens rate the quality of officials as being favourable, their overall rating for government's performance is very low. Only 15% of the citizen respondents in Kwun Tong, 18% in Tuen Mun, 22% in Tai Hang Tung, and 16% in Sai Ying Pun were satisfied with the work of the government. Survey results reveal that although the overall evaluation of officials by residents is encouraging, the residents in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung are more likely to give officials a lower rating (Table 5). At present, the role of local leaders to link the government and the people leaves much to be desired. Leaders seem to be favoured more by the people for opposing the government than for acting as intermediaries.

Leader–Resident Relationship

For the most part, leaders and residents maintain a distant relationship, with each group having a low opinion of the other. Neither side appears to be enthusiastic about establishing closer ties. Obviously, the calibre and orientation of existing leaders must be a major factor contributing to the leader–citizen gap.

It is not that the leaders are unaware of their leadership roles and goals. Most, in fact, consider their leadership role as being "representative" (58% in Kwun Tong, 57% in Tuen Mun, 69% in Tai Hang Tung, and 64% in Sai Ying Pun) and the object of their representation was declared to be the residents in their communities (52% in Kwun Tong, 60% in Tuen Mun, 50% in Tai Hang Tung, and 60% in Sai Ying Pun). Their attention to local issues should not be overly distracted by higher ambitions that can only be realized outside the local area, as the ultimate goal of a substantial proportion of leaders is to become a good community leader (37% in Kwun Tong, 49% in Tuen Mun, 65% in Tai Hang Tung, and 47% in Sai Ying Pun). However, they have a low evaluation of themselves as leaders and they tend to attribute their poor performance mostly to a lack of government support. Except for Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung, where citizen participation is slightly more prominent, the absence of popular support is not considered to be a key factor impeding leadership effectiveness. Although leaders look to the government for support and initiative, they still consider themselves slighted by government as the rewards they

Table 5. Evaluation of local officials by residents (percentage of residents who felt officials possessed a great or fair amount of the qualities listed).

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Trustworthiness	49	38	47	42
Concern for well-being of residents	44	35	43	40
Work efficiency	38	31	39	36
Fairness	37	30	39	37
Ability	44	35	37	36
Honesty	39	28	40	32
Professional knowledge	41	37	37	41
Knowledge of residents' needs	38	33	36	35
Willingness to help residents	40	43	40	43
Work attitudes	48	44	52	48

receive are judged to be neither bountiful nor generous. A sense of frustration was readily observed among leaders.

As local leaders are generally invisible to the citizens, it is startling to learn that, except for Sai Ying Pun, leaders claimed that their position was recognized by the public (58% in Kwun Tong, 54% in Tuen Mun, 50% in Tai Hang Tung, and 24% in Sai Ying Pun). It is not known how they arrived at this perception. We are sure that it is not because of their organizational involvement with the people. In fact, their attitude toward the people was one of contempt. Most leaders felt the people were apathetic and ignorant (52% in Kwun Tong, 57% in Tuen Mun, 77% in Tai Hang Tung, and 59% in Sai Ying Pun). This feeling of contempt was more evident in Tai Hang Tung because when compared with the minority of activist residents, most of the nonactivist, low-class residents there were particularly awful in the eyes of local leaders. Such behaviour on the part of the local leaders was not conducive to close leader–resident contact. A substantial proportion of local leaders had no contact with residents, especially in those areas with the least active leadership (34% in Kwun Tong, 46% in Tuen Mun, 35% in Tai Hang Tung, and 71% in Sai Ying Pun). Only a small minority of leaders took the initiative to contact citizens once a week or more (25% in Kwun Tong, 29% in Tuen Mun, 34% in Tai Hang Tung, and 11% in Sai Ying Pun). It is again worth noting that Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung led the other two communities in this respect.

From the point of view of the residents, certain characteristics are important for good community leadership (Table 6). There were no great differences among the four localities. The will to enhance community well-being, the ability to enhance community well-being, and an acquaintance with community affairs were the traits that received the most emphasis. All of the characteristics have to do with the leaders' capacity to deliver services to the populace.

Even though the requirements for good leadership are clear, to the residents, their leaders fall far short of expectations. Table 7 indicates the disappointment of residents with their leaders. The slightly higher ratings given to the leaders of Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung are in recognition of their active leadership.

The small differences in leadership evaluation did not, however, translate into actual contact with leaders. In Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun, only 2%, 2%, 2%, and 1%, respectively, of the respondents had

Table 6. Major leadership qualities as perceived by residents (percentage of residents who felt the qualities listed are important for local leaders).

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Will to enhance community well-being	39	58	34	66
Ability to enhance community well-being	37	63	51	50
Courage to confront government on behalf of community	19	31	19	12
Honesty and reliability	40	29	37	35
Acquainted with community affairs	48	42	41	50
Having "face" in the eyes of officials	8	7	8	4
Experience in community work	29	30	26	37
Life experience and wisdom	16	18	17	23
Good education	32	27	32	34

Table 7. Residents' evaluation of leaders (percentage of residents who agreed with statements listed).

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun
Local leaders possess good qualities	16	31	23	21
Local leaders are more concerned with the well-being of residents than their own interests	24	29	27	17
Local leaders have great influence on public policy	25	41	22	23
Local leaders listen to residents' opinion on local issues	19	39	28	20

approached their local leaders in the 3 months before the interview. Of those who had not made any contact with local leaders, only a small proportion would like to have local leaders approach them directly (16% in Kwun Tong, 22% in Tuen Mun, 32% in Tai Hang Tung, and 26% in Sai Ying Pun). As before, Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung stood out among industrial and residential communities respectively.

Summary of Findings

Throughout this chapter, the indispensable role of local leadership in the urban services delivery system has been underscored, but the minimal differences in leadership behaviour found among the four localities studied do not permit the formulation of conclusive statements with respect to Hong Kong. It is not certain if systematic variations among active leadership, bureaucratic orientation/behaviour, and citizen participation are valid indicators of future relationship patterns. Inasmuch as the differences among the four localities are systematic, several tentative statements may be made.

More active leadership seems to foster, among citizens, a more favourable assessment of service provision, a more favourable perception of local leaders, and a greater awareness of the effectiveness of organization and collective action in exercising influence on service delivery.

Presently in Hong Kong, more active leadership does not necessarily bring about better official–citizen relationships. On the other hand, when leaders are not integrated into the government's decision-making structure, local leaders and the government, to a certain extent, represent alternative channels to procure urban services in the eyes of citizens. As such, the two are competitive rather than complementary. Instead of bridging the gap between government and the people, more active and assertive leadership tends to coincide with a more unfavourable evaluation of government's performance. Local leaders, together with residents, deal with government on a "we–they" basis, the leaders and residents imposing demands on the government but without the need to share in the cost and responsibility of service provision.

Local leaders in Hong Kong suffer from several deficiencies in their organization. First and foremost is the low level of leadership specialization, which makes it difficult for leaders to work or deal with officials on the basis of specialized grouping, professional knowledge, and familiarization with administrative procedures. This is particularly true for leaders in lower class communities. Failure to interact with officials as equals is detrimental to the cultivation of self-confidence among leaders. Officials do not feel compelled to oblige leaders out of respect or

mutual understanding. Tighter organization of the people would, of course, compensate for the shortage of expertise, as in Tai Hang Tung. To establish a government–people relationship on a more institutional and durable basis would definitely call for upgrading the educational level and calibre of local leaders.

Second, local leadership is embedded in an extremely weak and loose organizational structure. An overwhelming majority of local leaders is involved in a ridiculously large number of weak and ineffective organizations each of which can claim only a nominal membership. Interorganizational ties are almost nonexistent. Collaboration among leaders and their organizations on an institutional basis and on projects that have an impact on the people is the exception rather than the rule. This amorphous and highly fragmented leadership structure makes it difficult to mobilize people and resources to improve conditions in the locality or to apply pressure on the government. The weak and loose local leadership is reflected in the general anonymity of individual leaders in the communities.

Third, leaders are also devoid of organizational linkage with citizens, which hampers the promotion of rapport with and support from citizens. This is indirectly conducive to the existence of an instrumental view of leaders in the communities.

Fourth, compatibility in orientation among officials and leaders constitutes another problem in Hong Kong. What is pertinent here is the lack of a more "militant" orientation of local leaders or the preparedness of officials to entertain aggressive leadership. Local leaders are amenable to deliberate manipulation by officials, and their reluctance to seek popular support would only serve to perpetuate their dependency status and exacerbate the communication gap between government and people.

Finally, Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung present two kinds of active leadership. Tuen Mun illustrates what assertive leadership can do when it is incorporated into government-initiated structures of representation, allowing for a certain degree of leadership autonomy and cultivation of popular support. Tai Hang Tung shows how the bureaucracy can be made more responsive through noninstitutional and unconventional influence tactics with a modicum of protest and confrontation. In an absolute sense, both models are hardly successful. When compared with other communities in Hong Kong, however, their results are quite impressive. Unfortunately, assertive leaders are still rare in Hong Kong. Their emergence will naturally pose a serious threat to the innumerable inactive leaders who seem to possess a sense of self-importance that has nothing to do with the performance of their role as local leader.

Policy Recommendations

In the face of data limitations, only tentative policy recommendations are proposed. The key component of the weak local leadership in Hong Kong is its uncertain place in the political system. Already in a more advanced stage of economic and social development, it is no longer advisable for Hong Kong to confine the role of local leaders to that of a mere subordinate adjunct to the bureaucracy, playing the peripheral role of reflecting "public" opinion. Local leaders have a role to play in the decision-making and resource-allocating processes of the government. They should perform para-administrative functions as well as organize collective activities in their communities. They should be relied upon to

bring the government and the people together in a partnership that will eventually be of benefit to both. How to situate local leaders into the political power structure, however, is a challenging problem. To this end, the following steps are proposed.

In place of the relatively uncoordinated and nonprogrammatic policy of the government, we suggest a coordinated planning and policy-making agency at the top level of government guided by a set of explicit policy goals and armed with adequate information-gathering capability. Only after these are firmly stated would it be possible to situate local leadership securely in the general system. The new body is essential for coordinated efforts in coping simultaneously with general problems requiring centralized policy formulation and with specific problems arising from a more decentralized model of problem solving. In other words, both centralization and decentralization should be pursued in tandem. Specifically, this means that problem-solving tasks can be classified into: those reserved exclusively for centralized solution, for which an even higher level of centralization would be desirable; those requiring joint efforts between government and community groups; and those that should be delegated to social groups and community organizations (including the district board) for definition and solution. In the latter two kinds of tasks, local leadership with the capacity to mobilize resources, coordinate activities, and administer programs will be indispensable.

There should be more flexible deployment of resources and personnel within the government. There is a need for the government to place more emphasis on functional policy goals than on conventional departmental boundaries. Incrementalism and muddling through must be banished. A more flexible government at the local level would be conducive to the rise of more vibrant and cooperative local leadership.

In the same vein, there is a need for more decentralization of decision-making inside the government. This implies more power and autonomy for the local offices; more stability in the assignment of tasks, resources, and personnel to the localities; and more reliance upon local evaluations of the performance of local officials for assigning their promotion prospects.

There should be step-by-step mobilization and organization of community groups for concrete problem solving by the government with the sincere intention of sharing power, resources and information, and leadership development. It would be advisable for the government to encourage a certain level of group competition and experimentation in problem solution and program design at the local level. It should encourage more local initiative in problem identification and organization building. In addition, groups exhibiting certain levels of vitality and popularity should be linked up with the government by some institutional channels of partnership.

Channels should be established that would enable the preferences of social and community groups to be incorporated into the major instrument of government action — the annual budget.

In monitoring the activities of local leaders and organizations, detailed prescriptions and directives, bolstered by rigid budgetary stipulations, should be avoided. Instead, clarification of broad goals, explication of intended policy impact, and enforcement of a decent budgetary discipline by the central government should be sufficient to set up the proper context for project guidance.

Organizing Participatory Urban Services: The Mutual-Aid Committees in Hong Kong

Kuan Hsin-chi, Lau Siu-kai, and Ho Kam-fai

This chapter looks at mutual-aid committees (MACs) in Hong Kong in terms of their capacity to organize participatory urban services. Participatory urban services are those services that require consumers to participate as coproducers in an urban context. A group of residents who hire commercial guards to protect their building are not organizing a participatory urban service, whereas tenants who take turns providing security are. This definition is admittedly narrow and may lead to methodological problems. It is better, however, to begin with a narrow definition than a broader definition for the sake of theoretical clarity. A MAC is a self-help group (Durman 1976) based on the principle of the neighbourhood. The concept of the neighbourhood used throughout this chapter is much narrower than what has been commonly used in the literature (Downs 1981). It is defined in terms of dwellings within the same building. Because a MAC is voluntary, its capacity to organize participatory urban services is circumscribed by several factors.

First, there must be an adequate functional environment for the MACs in relation to society as a whole. Second, among the members there must be the perception of deprivation and problems that need solving. Third, these felt needs must be viewed as services that could be provided through community involvement. Fourth, the committee must have developed a level of interaction that is sufficient to prevent residents from not participating yet using the services provided.

Information on MAC activities and some underlying conditions is drawn from a larger study on grass-root politics and participatory urban services in four selected areas of Hong Kong: Kwun Tong, Tuen Mun, Tai Hang Tung, and Sai Ying Pun. With the exception of the sample of local officials, the other two samples are different from those used in the larger study. Specifically, a subset of MAC chairmen was created from the larger sample of community leaders. Similarly, from the sample of residents, those respondents who reported having MACs in their buildings were grouped to form a subsample. Thus, the samples are not designed specifically for the present study, thereby incurring possible methodological problems.

One of the problems lies in the unit of analysis. MACs are, strictly speaking, not the units of analysis in the original research design. Although community leaders and local residents were invited to provide information about MACs, these informants did not belong to the same MACs. Occasionally, information from different sources may be contradictory. More importantly, findings from the leader and resident surveys, even if combined, fail to produce a coherent picture of, for instance, the patterns of interaction among leaders and members in MACs. Another implication arising from the survey design has to do with the representativeness of MACs. Of the 3724 MACs in Hong Kong in 1982, 73% were in private buildings.

In contrast, the majority of residents who reported on their MACs (77%) resides in public housing. Caution should be exercised when comparisons are made between MACs in public and private housing. The last methodological problem is conceptual. As the concept of participatory urban services was foreign to the respondents, MAC residents were asked to provide information on the kinds of activities undertaken by their MACs. Community leaders were expected to distinguish different types of activities: self-help, joint ventures with the government, and campaigns initiated by the government. The first type of activity came nearest to our concept of participatory urban services. Only a few MAC chairmen failed to make the distinction.

History of the MACs

Unlike the self-help movement in the United States, the establishment and growth of MACs in Hong Kong has had neither the element of a religious movement (Hurvitz 1976) nor that of a social movement (Back and Taylor 1976). It has been an outgrowth of a government experiment based initially on a genuine public concern over the inadequate provision of public security services.

The background was provided in 1972, when the increasing incidence of crime (reported to be twofold in 4 years) brought about immense public pressure on the government to take drastic measures. The government responded initially by legislating tougher sentences, increasing police recruitment, commissioning research studies, and organizing campaigns to publicize preventive measures. As time went on, it was recognized that these measures alone could not achieve the intended result and that such rampant crime as existed in the early 1970s could not be curbed without community involvement. Among those who called for public attention, Wilfred S.B. Wong, a legislative councillor, recommended in January 1973 that the traditional Chinese neighbourhood watch system (*po kak*) be revived to combat crime. He believed that robbers were successful because of the element of surprise, which would be removed if they were being watched. The neighbourhood watch system could be provided by residents' associations or a street tenants' patrol. It cannot be ascertained whether and to what extent Mr Wong's recommendation led directly to subsequent government efforts. Government decisions were incremental, building upon experiences gained from the "Keep Hong Kong Clean Campaign" in 1972. With the decision to enlarge the publicity campaigns organized by the police force into a colony-wide fight-violent-crime campaign, it became evident that an organizational structure with public involvement was indispensable. Thus, a campaign promotion network was set up in residential blocks in June 1973. MACs served as front-line groups to support the area committees that were in turn, coordinated by the city district committees. Although a few neighbourhood security patrols were formed as an experiment, the immediate objective of the government was to secure public support of the campaign and the initial target was multistorey private buildings. After 2 years, the experiment with MACs was judged by the government to be successful and was allowed to become permanent. The number of MACs has increased more than threefold since 1973. During this period, government efforts have been directed toward public buildings and the rapidly developing New Territories.

With respect to neighbourhood security patrols, there were initial fears that they might be misused against their neighbours. This fear proved unfounded and it was decided in November 1974 to encourage MACs to develop security patrols at

their own pace while providing supervision and training through the city district offices of the Home Affairs Department and community relations officers of the Royal Hong Kong Police Force. Neighbourhood security patrols did not increase in number as quickly as MACs and, in fact, the trend has been declining since 1977 (218 units in 1982).

Kinds of MAC Activities

According to residents, two kinds of activities were most popular among their MACs. One was related to law and order, and the other involved recreational, cultural, and sports activities. Each made up 31% of the total MAC activities reported. Clean-up activities ranked second, making up 20% of the total. Districts appeared to fare differently, with MACs in Kwun Tong concentrating on law and order, those in Tuen Mun and Tai Hang Tung preferring recreation, etc., and Sai Ying Pun undertaking more keep-clean activities. Except for Kwun Tong, these area characteristics can be accounted for by referring to the types of housing (Table 1). MACs in public housing estates tended to favour recreational, cultural, and sports activities, whereas those in private buildings seemed to do more cleaning up. The high percentage involved in law-and-order activities for the private buildings was truly exceptional as it was influenced by the special weight given to these activities in Kwun Tong. Kwun Tong's emphasis on law-and-order activities overshadowed all other kinds of activities in that area.

This leads to the question of why one kind of activity can be more popular than another. The stated objectives of MACs may provide a partial explanation. The responses of MAC chairmen to an open-ended question about the objectives of MACs fell into two major categories: one in general terms and the other in terms of activities. As many as 40% of the respondents mentioned specific activities as MAC objectives (Table 2). Among them, recreational, cultural, and sports activities were by no means the most popular. If it is assumed, however, that these activities constitute the only means for promoting neighbourliness, they would become equal in importance to law-and-order activities. MAC objectives as defined by the leaders

Table 1. MAC activities by district and by type of housing.

	Kwun Tong		Tuen Mun		Tai Hang Tung[a]	Sai Ying Pun		All		
Activities	Public (%)	Private (%)	Public (%)	Private (%)	Public (%)	Public (%)	Private (%)	Public (%)	Private (%)	Total (%)
Keep clean	20	35	10	25	16	67	35	16	35	20
Law and order	42	45	16	13	13	33	31	30	35	31
Recreation, etc.	30	8	45	13	47	0	11	37	10	31
Public facilities	0	3	4	13	0	0	11	2	8	3
Neighbour-hood relations	4	10	14	0	3	0	6	8	7	7
Others	4	0	11	38	22	0	6	8	6	7
Sample no.	199	40	148	8	32	3	65	382	113	495

[a]No private building at this research site.

Table 2. Objectives of MAC as perceived by MAC chairmen.

	Sample No.	%
To undertake specific activities:	25	40
Cleaning up (11)		
Law and order (10)		
Recreational, cultural, and sports activities (3)		
Fire prevention (1)		
To solve problems through mutual aid	19	31
To promote neighbourliness	7	11
To provide linkage between government and residents	5	8
To serve residents	4	6
To undertake general activities:	2	3
Environmental improvement (1)		
Community movement (1)		
Total	62	

are similar to those perceived by residents. Thus cleaning-up, law-and-order, and recreational activities made up the three major kinds of activities undertaken by MACs in Hong Kong.

Almost one-third of the chairmen regarded MACs as vehicles for solving problems (Table 2). Differences exist among government officials, MAC chairmen, and residents in their perceptions of the most urgent problems (Table 3). Views also vary from area to area. Nevertheless, all participants shared the view that recreational, cultural, and sports services are the least urgent needs, whereas the lack of public facilities is the most urgent problem. Among public facilities, transportation was the most urgently needed service (49% of 461 residents' responses). Law and order was perceived as the most urgent problem by 10–12% of respondents from each of the three samples. Housing did not appear to be a problem to as many residents as it did to community leaders and officials, probably because the sample underrepresented those living under very poor conditions. With respect to medical and health services, officials and MAC chairmen were, perhaps, out of touch with the mood of residents. Medical and health services must pose a serious problem to a number of Hong Kong residents, as indicated by the recent upsurge of public demands for a comprehensive hospital in the eastern district. Differences in opinions among officials and other participants with regard to unemployment and economic development in Tuen Mun were illustrative of how problems can be perceived differently. Tuen Mun is being developed as a new town and officials were concerned with creating enough job opportunities in situ for the new residents. The residents, however, preferred to travel a long way back to urban areas for employment, thereby aggravating the transportation problem. Regardless of the differences that existed among groups, the views of the residents were the most important for understanding the activities undertaken by MACs. Therefore, it may be concluded that transportation was the most critical need, followed by medical and health services, and law and order. Recreational, cultural, and sports needs were not as urgent.

Comparing MAC activities with perceived problems, it may be observed that MAC activities were not geared to meet the most urgently felt needs of the residents. Hardly anything was done with respect to providing public facilities, which was considered to be a serious problem. For less urgent needs, i.e., recreation, etc., one finds the most efforts spent.

Table 3. Most urgent problems facing communities (%).

Problem	Kwun Tong			Tuen Mun			Tai Hang Tung			Sai Ying Pun			All		
	Chairmen	Residents	Officials	Chairmen	Residents	Officials	Chairmen	Residents	Officials	Chairmen	Residents	Officials	Chairmen	Residents	Officials
Public facilities	31	40	23	88	68	51	31	18	30	48	48	38	42	52	33
Housing	34	18	42	0	1	5	23	15	38	14	7	38	23	9	31
Medical and health	11	5	5	13	18	7	8	29	3	0	11	5	8	13	5
Law and order	11	23	17	0	1	3	23	18	5	19	4	0	12	11	10
Recreation, etc.	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	12	8	5	16	5	1	3	3
Education and welfare	6	1	6	0	5	14	15	0	3	10	2	0	8	3	7
Unemployment and economic development	3	2	1	0	3	17	0	3	0	0	0	5	1	2	7
Others	3	10	4	0	2	1	0	6	11	5	11	10	3	6	4
Sample no.	35	167	139	8	215	74	13	34	37	21	45	21	77	461	271

*Some respondents gave multiple answers.

Types of MAC Activities

Knowing the kinds of activities undertaken by MACs does not give one a picture about their capacity to organize participatory services. For instance, MACs in private buildings undertook activities to improve public security. The measures, however, were confined to hiring professional guards and installing iron gates and electronic antiburglary devices, because no neighbourhood security patrol in a private building has been licenced by the government. To solicit more detailed information, MAC chairmen were requested to provide unstructured answers to questions about MAC activities. The responses were then classified into two categories: those activities initiated by MACs and those initiated by the government. The findings confirm the commonly held view that MACs are controlled by the government rather than by the residents. Of all MAC activities undertaken in 1982, 46% were initiated by the government. The role of the government was particularly strong in keep-clean (59%) and law-and-order activities (51%), most of which were campaigns. It is also worth noting that among the 16 activities organized by MACs for law and order, only two were related to security patrols. The initiatives of MACs were largely confined to recreational, cultural, and sports activities. To a large extent, MACs can be regarded as campaign offices for the government.

This close relationship between the government and MACs is understandable. As creations of the government, MACs operate under the guidance of government officials. It was found that most of the work done by the government (46%) consisted of organizing self-help groups, followed by government campaigns (34%), and recreational, sports, and cultural events (10%).

Government influence on MAC activities may be direct or even intentional, e.g., MACs in public housing estates often organize autonomous recreational, cultural, and sports activities. Initially MACs in public housing were established primarily to improve public order. Unlike their counterparts in private housing, MACs in public housing have had no role to play in building management, which falls within the jurisdiction of the Housing Authority. To the extent that the government improved its policing work, the role of MACs in public housing in maintaining law and order also diminished. As the survey indicated, security patrolling within public housing estates was no longer the major activity of MACs. Where it still was a major activity, it could be maintained only with difficulty. The survey results thus corroborate the government's information on the decreasing number of neighbourhood security patrols. The reduction of this participatory service can be regarded as being a result of improved policing work through the establishment of neighbourhood police units and police reporting centres since 1974. At the beginning of 1983, there were 85 units and 67 centres respectively. In contrast with the neighbourhood security patrols of MACs, these government units are to be increased to an eventual coverage of one neighbourhood police unit/police reporting centre per 20000 residents. In this context, MACs in public housing estates turn increasingly toward recreational, cultural, and sports activities.

MAC Activeness

The role of the government not only determines directly or indirectly the kinds of activities undertaken by MACs, but also influences the extent to which they are

active. MAC chairmen were asked if they had done anything related to self-help activities, joint projects with the government, or campaigns initiated by the government within the past year. The survey results reveal a positive relationship between the involvement of government and the activeness of MACs (Table 4). Only 32% of MAC chairmen reported that they had launched self-help activities during the past year, whereas 66% had supported government-initiated campaigns. MACs involved in joint projects with the government totaled 42%. The pattern was similar across all four research sites. Disregarding the types of activities, there were marked differences among districts in terms of MAC activeness. MACs in Tai Hang Tung were the most active, whereas those in Sai Ying Pun the least active. It was also found that MACs were less active than other community organizations. The results show that 54% of all non-MAC organizations had self-help activities, 72% cooperated with the government in joint ventures, and 74% supported government campaigns. In terms of their levels of activity, non-MAC groups in Sai Ying Pun were the most active, whereas those in Tai Hang Tung were the least active.

Because the survey did not probe the frequency of each type of activity, the negative responses to the questions asked to ascertain the level of inactivity of the MACs should be analyzed. Table 5 shows that 39% of MACs did not launch any self-help activities during the past year, 30% never participated in joint projects with the government, and 10% never supported government-initiated campaigns. Again, MACs in Sai Ying Pun were the least active and MACs in Kwun Tong were the most active. Compared with other community organizations, MACs are more inactive: the proportion of non-MAC groups that have never had self-help activities or joint projects with the government is substantially lower (28 and 13% respectively) than that of MACs. The inactiveness of non-MAC organizations with regard to supporting government-initiated campaigns (12%) is, however, on par with that of MACs.

Two conclusions may be drawn from the above findings. First, MACs are not active in organizing self-help activities. Second, they owe their activeness in other types of activities to the government. Furthermore, the degree of government involvement partly accounts for the differences among areas in terms of MAC activeness. Specifically, the fact that MACs in Kwun Tong were the most active and those in Sai Ying Pun the least active could be a result of the different degree of government involvement in the two communities. When asked whether MACs had encouraged residents to undertake mutual aid activities to solve their problems during the past 3 years, 86% of the local officials in Kwun Tong answered

Table 4. Activeness of MACs.

Activeness	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun	Total
No. of MACs	21	10	16	24	71
No. of MACs having self-help activities	10	2	9	2	23
	(48)	(20)	(56)	(8)	(32)
No. of MACs having joint projects with government	12	2	12	4	30
	(57)	(20)	(75)	(17)	(42)
No. of MACs supporting government-initiated campaigns	15	5	13	14	47
	(71)	(50)	(81)	(58)	(66)

Note: Values in parentheses are percentages of the number of MACs.

Table 5. Inactiveness of community organizations.

Inactiveness	Kwun Tong		Tuen Mun		Tai Hang Tung		Sai Ying Pun		Total	
	Non-MAC	MAC	Non-MAC	MAC	Non-MAC	MAC	Non-MAC	MAC	Non-MAC	MAC
Total no. of organizations	52	21	25	10	10	16	34	24	121	71
No. of organizations that have never had self-help activities	13 (25)	3 (14)	9 (36)	4 (40)	5 (50)	6 (38)	9 (26)	25 (63)	15 (28)	28 (39)
No. of organizations that have never had joint projects with government	5 (10)	3 (14)	6 (24)	3 (30)	4 (40)	2 (13)	1 (3)	13 (54)	16 (13)	21 (30)
No. of organizations that have never supported government-initiated campaigns	6 (12)	1 (5)	7 (28)	0 (0)	2 (20)	2 (13)	0 (0)	4 (17)	15 (12)	7 (10)

Note: Values in parentheses are percentages of the total number of organizations.

positively, whereas only 55% of officials in Sai Ying Pun gave an affirmative answer.

Why were the MACs inactive in organizing mutual aid activities? It cannot be due to a lack of community problems, as only two respondents from the total MAC-chairmen sample (N = 71) thought there were no problems at all in their communities. It must be that mutual aid was not considered to be suitable for solving the problems. In the survey, none of the MAC chairmen who named the most urgent problems believed that residents could have a role to play in their solution, whereas 81% charged the government with the responsibility. This total denial of one's responsibility was rather surprising, for at least in law and order residents did have a small role to play. With the rapid expansion of government services during the past decade, community leaders, as well as citizens, in Hong Kong acquired a sense of dependency that inhibited local initiatives for self-help.

A sense of dependency is defined as the perception that community problems can be solved only by expanding government efforts. This sense of dependency was prevalent among MAC chairmen. When asked to choose the most preferable strategy for solving community problems, 59% of MAC chairmen opted for expanding government efforts, 35% for generating self-help, and 6% for joint efforts between government and residents. As expected, variations existed across research sites, with Tai Hang Tung favouring self-help activities. When problem-solving strategies were cross-tabulated with the degree of activeness in self-help activities, a negative relationship emerged between the sense of dependency and the degree of activeness (Table 6).

The sense of dependency can also explain why MACs were not as active as other community groups. MAC chairmen were more dependent upon the government than were leaders of other community organizations. The survey results show that MAC chairmen, when compared with other community leaders, were relatively younger, less educated, less wealthy, and employed in lower paid professions. Age

and educational background of leaders were unrelated to the degree of MAC activeness. Wealthier chairmen, however, seemed to organize more activities for their MACs.

Finally, the aspirations of MAC chairmen may be positively related to the degree of MAC activeness. Specifically, those MAC chairmen who aspired to become city-wide leaders were likely to be more active in organizing self-help activities than those who were content to be local leaders and those who aspired to become local leaders were more active than those who had no aspirations at all.

Residents' Participation

Here, the role played by residents of buildings with MACs will be examined. Of 408 MAC residents, only 10% frequently participated in MAC activities, as opposed to 75% who participated infrequently (Table 7). In terms of differences among areas, residents in Kwun Tong were the most active, whereas those in Tai Hang Tung were the least active. If Tables 4, 5, and 7 are considered together, Kwun Tong has the most active leaders and citizens. On the other hand, equally active leaders in Tai Hang Tung failed to promote a high level of participation on the part of residents.

The type of housing had only a slight impact on the level of residents' participation in MAC activities. Although frequent participants made up the same percentage (10%) of the respective samples in public and private housing, more residents in public housing (76%) participated infrequently than those in private housing (67%). It should be remembered, however, that private housing was underrepresented in the sample.

In studies on citizen participation, socioeconomic variables are usually thought to be important. Thus, data on sex, age, education, and income of respondents were cross tabulated with levels of participation in MAC activities. The results show that

Table 6. Problem-solving strategy and MAC activeness.

	Strategy		
Activeness[a]	Expand government efforts (%)	Both (%)	Encourage self-help (%)
Low	62	100	59
Medium	31	0	24
High	8	0	18
Sample no.	26	2	17

Note: No. of missing observations = 26.

[a]Low = no activity at all during past year; Medium = 1–4 instances of activity during past year; and High = 5 or more instances of activity during past year.

Table 7. Residents' participation in MAC activities.

	Kwun Tong		Tuen Mun		Tai Hang Tung		Sai Ying Pun		All	
Participation	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Frequent	23	(14)	12	(7)	2	(6)	4	(11)	41	(10)
Average	30	(19)	19	(11)	3	(9)	11	(30)	63	(15)
Infrequent	108	(67)	144	(82)	30	(86)	22	(59)	304	(75)

Note: No. of missing observations = 153.

male, older, better educated, middle-income (HKD 5001 – 10000)[1] residents tended to participate more frequently than other groups. Statistically, the relationships between these socioeconomic variables and the level of participation were not significant at the 0.05 level.

The low level of citizens' participation in MAC activities may be explained by a strong sense of dependency among the residents. Of 521 MAC respondents, 56% preferred expanding government efforts to organizing self-help as a strategy for solving community problems. Only 23% favoured the reverse. This general sense of dependency intensified when applied to more specific problems. Of those who named the most urgent problems facing their communities, only 15% viewed them as amenable to solution through self-help.

In examining the relationship between the choice of problem-solving strategies and the level of participation in MAC activities, it may be noted that more adherents of self-help participated frequently than those who advocated expansion of government efforts. The relationship between these two variables was, moreover, statistically insignificant.

To the extent that MAC activities are mainly government-initiated campaigns and joint projects, it is instructive to determine the capability of MACs to mobilize residents to participate in these activities in which they might not otherwise be interested. The frequency of MAC chairmen visiting and helping residents is important. It is hypothesized that should this kind of contact prove frequent and useful during normal times, MAC chairmen would be better able to mobilize residents in times of need. As the results show, interaction between MAC chairmen and residents was neither frequent nor useful, with only 8% of MAC chairmen having frequent contact with residents. During 1981, 35% of MAC chairmen did not visit residents at all, and 18% maintained only infrequent contact with residents, i.e., several times a year. On the other hand, not many residents called upon MAC chairmen for help. More than half (55%) of MAC chairmen reported that, in the past 3 months, not one resident came seeking their help; 20% reported receiving visits from 1 to 5 residents; and only 7% reported receiving more than 20 visits. These findings are supported by information given by the residents.

Residents' Evaluation of MACs

Thus far, it is clear that not many MACs are active. For those that are, the kinds and types of activities organized are largely divorced from the felt needs of the residents. As a result, residents' participation in these activities tends to be low. Are MACs viewed as being successful or useful by the parties concerned?

The government, as the strongest party, has never regarded MACs as a powerful mechanism for producing urban services through mutual help. One may wonder if the neighbourhood security patrol has ever enjoyed the whole-hearted support of the police force. Nevertheless, the MAC is regarded as a successful social experiment (Bray 1976). Today, MACs are still regarded as being useful for improving communal facilities and environmental amenities in private buildings, facilitating building management in public housing estates, assisting the neighbour-

[1] HKD (Hong Kong dollar) 5.50 = USD (United States dollar) 1.

hood police units, promoting a sense of belonging and the concept of the neighbourhood, and improving communications between the government and citizens.

With respect to MAC chairmen, most are quite satisfied with their work. Only 51% of MAC chairmen regarded government-initiated campaigns as being successful (Table 8). Self-help activities tended to be more successful (74%). It was, however, mixed activities, i.e., joint projects, that received the most positive evaluation (83%). Leaders' evaluations of MAC activities differed from district to district. Sai Ying Pun had the lowest degree of satisfaction, whereas Tai Hang Tung was the most satisfied. In a word, activeness led to success and participation brought satisfaction.

As in a study by Katz et al. (1975), this study emphasizes citizens' evaluations of services. The view is held that any study of participatory urban services must be assessed from a citizen's perspective. In this study, 29% of the residents interviewed regarded the activities undertaken by MACs as being successful, 20% felt they were somewhat successful, and 11% said they were unsuccessful. In terms of differences among areas, Tai Hang Tung, where MACs were most active, received a poor evaluation from residents.

When the respondents' answers were classified according to types of housing, it seemed that MACs were slightly more successful in public housing estates than in private buildings. In addition, these respondents were invited to name the most successful and most unsuccessful activities undertaken by their MACs. Overall, recreational, cultural, and sports activities were the most likely to be successful, whereas opinions on the success of keep-clean activities and law-and-order activities were evenly divided (Table 9). Variations in terms of types of housing seemed important. In public housing, recreational, cultural, and sports activities were the most likely activities to be successful, whereas in private buildings, MACs were most likely to be successful in keep-clean activities. Activities related to law and order were controversial in both types of housing.

In general, MAC activities were evaluated positively by residents in terms of being successful. Residents' evaluations became less favourable in terms of how useful MACs were to residents. When asked whether MACs served residents

Table 8. Success of activities as perceived by MAC chairmen.

	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun	Total
Self-help activities					
No. of MACs involved	10	2	9	2	23
No. of chairmen finding activities successful	7	1	8	1	17
	(70)	(50)	(89)	(50)	(74)
Joint projects					
No. of MACs involved	12	2	12	4	30
No. of chairmen finding projects successful	9	2	10	4	25
	(75)	(100)	(83)	(100)	(83)
Government campaigns					
No. of MACs involved	15	5	13	14	47
No of chairmen finding campaign successful	8	2	8	6	24
	(53)	(40)	(62)	(43)	(51)
Total no of MACs in district	21	10	16	24	

Note: Values in parentheses are percentages of the number of MACs involved.

Table 9. Residents' evaluation of MAC activities (%).

Activities	Most successful activites[a]			Most unsuccessful activities[b]		
	Public housing	Private housing	All	Public housing	Private housing	All
Keep clean	13	40	18	20	17	20
Law and order	32	31	32	33	21	31
Recreation, etc.	35	5	30	7	4	7
Public facilities	2	5	3	9	13	10
Neighbourhood relations	8	2	7	10	25	13
Others	10	17	11	20	21	20
Sample no.	188	42	230	99	24	123

[a]No. of missing observations = 331 (59% of total sample).
[b]No. of missing observations = 438 (78% of total sample).

adequately, only 17% answered yes, 23% found the services of MACs somewhat adequate, and 26% found them inadequate (Table 10). Tai Hang Tung again had the most dissatisfied residents. In terms of types of housing, MACs in private buildings were much better than those in public housing estates. In the latter, 43% of the residents found MACs inadequate, whereas 23% of residents in private buildings found MACs inadequate. Here lies an apparent paradox. MACs in public housing estates had more successful activities, but MACs in private buildings served residents better. This paradox can be explained by the types of MAC activities and the role of the government. To the extent that MAC activities were not geared to the felt needs of residents but rather to the requirements of government, activities could be organized successfully. A campaign organized in the form of a carnival, for instance, attracted a small percentage of people from each block. These activities, however, did not serve the interests of the residents. This explanation is more relevant to public housing estates than private buildings.

Next is the question of whether the residents' evaluation of MACs in terms of service utility is related to the kinds of activities undertaken. Law and order stood out as an important MAC activity. Law-and-order activities are central to the felt needs of residents. On the other hand, recreational, cultural, and sports activities, although popular and successful, are more remote from the concerns of residents. It is not surprising, therefore, that those MACs that organized this kind of activity were regarded as having served their residents inadequately.

Finally, factors other than the types and kinds of activities that may have some effect on the residents' evaluation of MACs, in terms of services, should be considered. It was found that education and income were unrelated but sex and age were significantly related to residents' evaluations, but not strongly. Females tended to regard MACs as having served residents inadequately. Older people were less likely to evaluate MACs negatively. As with the other method of evaluation,

Table 10. Residents' evaluation of MAC services (%).

Evaluation	Kwun Tong	Tuen Mun	Tai Hang Tung	Sai Ying Pun	Total
Adequate	17	18	6	25	17
Somewhat adequate	33	14	26	33	23
Inadequate	23	30	27	19	26
D.K./N.A.	26	37	40	32	33
Sample no.	209	246	54	52	561

the level of participation was both significantly ($P<0.005$) and strongly related to the evaluation of MACs in terms of services ($\gamma = 0.34$). Those residents who participated more frequently also tended to think that their MACs served residents adequately.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has been concerned with urban services delivery as a function of specific interaction among government, voluntary grass-roots organizations, and citizens. The birth of MACs as a vehicle to prevent crime in the early 1970s was reviewed. Unlike in the United States (Washnis 1976), citizen involvement in crime prevention did not outlive its initial enthusiasm but degenerated into a ritualistic manipulation of community respect for government activism in community development. Neither could MACs establish themselves as viable structures for other participatory urban services. The kinds of activities they undertook were largely unrelated to the felt needs of the residents, who participated only infrequently. Given the fact that almost half of the MAC activities were not of the self-help or mutual help variety, MACs depended heavily upon the initiative of the government for their organizational viability. Residents doubted the usefulness of MACs as service providers, while the government began to quietly reduce its support of MACs. What went wrong with the development of MACs?

First, the problem begins with the nature of the organization. Despite the stated ideal of mutual aid, in practice MACs have suffered from serious ambiguities in their objectives. Given the active role of government in the formation and operation of MACs, they hardly fit into the categories of mutual-help organizations identified in the literature (e.g., Killilea 1976). To the extent that MACs represented "a kind of effort at administrative penetration" (Lau 1981, p.882), they served as linkages in political communication. When they were called upon to support public campaigns, they were appendages of bureaucracies, interested only in successful implementation of their own programs. When MACs did deliver services to their residents, it was not quite clear whether the organizations were viewed as adjuncts to professional services, alternative forms of service delivery, or possible competitors with professional modes of services (Katz 1981). Should MACs do a bit here and a bit there, they become general purpose associations that lack a community base for success. In the absence of a clear-cut role, MACs could not develop themselves toward self-direction (Turner 1986); they could not program activities that create values for residents; and they developed a kind of nominal self-help that had no real meaning except, perhaps, for organizational survival. In light of their past performance, the future of MACs is bleak indeed. Today, there is simply no self-sustaining activity within MACs that can persist and have a force of its own once public assistance is withdrawn.

Second, the nature of MACs has been shaped by the context in which they operate. The context has not been favourable, however, to the development of participatory urban services. We agree with Anderson (1975) that the context within which institutional elites interact is much more important for an understanding of social policy and change than the socioeconomic and motivational characteristics of the elites themselves. The context in which participatory urban services evolved is complicated and changing, but several features did stand out in the study. The first is the extent that urban services, specifically crime prevention, are professionalized

and decentralized without undermining the effectiveness of developing self-help activities, namely neighbourhood security patrols. The tension between self-help and professional services has been one of the common themes in the literature. Decentralization of police work in Hong Kong seems to have brought about an improved relationship between the police and the public, but it also dampened citizens' involvement in crime prevention. The second feature of the Hong Kong context pertains to the effect of socioeconomic changes on the option of participatory urban services. Hong Kong has reached a level of development where basic needs in urban services, e.g., water, drainage, electric power, etc., are no longer problems. Residents are concerned instead with the quality, cost, and availability of services. Need gratification in this regard requires a higher level of technical sophistication, organizational complexity, and differentiated attention. This may partially explain why the respondents regarded so many community problems as not suitable for solutions through mutual aid. Finally, the most important variable concerns the role of government. Kuan and Lau (1981) highlighted the advantaged position of government in structuring interaction between itself, local leaders, and residents to facilitate the process of development. In the present study, the position of the government is still paramount, but its impact worked in the reverse direction, i.e., to the detriment of participatory urban services. This finding also seems to run counter to experience in the United States, where government involvement and encouragement was the most important factor leading to a high level of citizen participation in service programs (Cole 1973). The study revealed a strong sense of dependency on the part of MAC chairmen and the residents, a low level of activeness on the part of MACs in terms of organizing self-help activities, and a low level of resident participation in MAC activities. On the other hand, the government spent considerable effort "encouraging" MACs. The argument advanced is that the government has been ineffective in its efforts. Instead of enhancing the ability of MACs to promote mutual aid, the government has been too anxious to implement its own programs through campaigns that are symbolic but offer little in the way of real services. To the extent that MAC activities are centrally and bureaucratically determined, MACs are forced to divorce themselves from their base of support to the point that they are left helpless in terms of their ability to mobilize residents for genuine mutual aid activities. In a sense, the government has succeeded in taking over the role of political entrepreneur at the local level. MACs were thus deprived of opportunities for leadership development.

The third difficulty lies with the residents. The study has confirmed not only the apathy of the residents but also the lack of interaction between the leaders and residents. There appeared to be no group life in buildings with MACs. Under these circumstances, membership in MACs was fictitious. Residents are still mobile consumers living in an open economy and an open society. If MACs provide estate amenities or other services, they can be evaluated relative to other forms of service generation. The dilemma is that without a sense of community, voluntary activity cannot be sustained; while without activities, a sense of community cannot be developed. It is clear that MACs cannot be communities in the sense that traditional families, villages, or walled cities can be. Therefore, the critical question is the kinds of activities needed to build up some sense of mutual identification among residents. Some way has to be found to appeal to the self-interest of residents on an individual basis (O'Brien 1975). Nevertheless, residents' participation should not be conceived as a political input through which policies concerning urban services can be introduced, modified, or abolished in favour of the disadvantaged (e.g., Marshall 1971; Smith and Rose 1976). The project has been concerned with

voluntary citizen participation at the local level to produce and deliver urban services. In this sense, participation is less a type of conflict and bargaining, and more consensus and cooperation. Consensus and cooperation must be based on concrete interests and needs. Residents will devote their time to what concerns them most, or else they would not volunteer at all. Unfortunately, activities undertaken by MACs were largely unrelated to the felt needs of the residents.

What, then, are our recommendations? Should MACs be abolished? If not, how can they be improved? We do not recommend the abolition of MACs because we have not yet evaluated them in terms of the political functions the government wishes them to perform. Moreover, it is believed that the residents would not favour such a radical step, i.e., residents may support MACs once they are strengthened with more responsibilities and freed from government control.

To improve the ability of MACs to promote participatory urban services, the government must change its role from one of entrepreneurship to one of providing real encouragement. The government should no longer act as the organizer of activities. Instead, it must satisfy itself with encouraging, primarily through financial incentives, MACs to develop their own programs of activities. Rather than dominating and socializing MACs with preconceived government norms and standardized programs of activities, the government should let MACs be independent, allowing them to cooperate with the government when the need arises. What is being proposed is a genuine relationship of cooperation in which the government need not fear the loss of control, community leaders need not despair over a sense of dependency, and citizens need not feel powerless. Joint projects between MACs and the government are more successful than self-help activities and government-initiated activities.

At present, MACs are under the guidance of the city and New Territories' administration. Given its role, perception, and training of employees, the department naturally tends to mould MACs into political transmission belts for the government, rather than to help them develop as genuine mutual-aid associations. If MACs are to become effective mechanisms to mobilize unutilized resources — a source of productivity and labour not otherwise tapped for the delivery of urban services — they should be put under the guidance of another government department that is more service oriented.

Finally, we have no illusions with respect to the future of MACs. Government officials, professionals, and MAC chairmen still have a hard time in defining the kinds of services that are likely to be provided effectively through mutual aid. The nature of the organizations and the context under which they operate are not such that residents can be easily mobilized into becoming coproducers of urban services. It is only in an abstract sense that it is possible to speak of the common interests coming from the neighbourhood situation. Furthermore, it is difficult for MACs, as neighbourhood organizations, to venture into physical urban services in a complex setting such as Hong Kong. Under certain assumptions (such as maintenance of the neighbourhood principle and the monopoly of estate management by professionals), there seems to be only one area in which MACs may have a future — human services, where the prospect for participatory urban services looks the brightest. As Gartner and Riessman (1977) submit, so much of the essence of human services depends upon the involvement and motivation of the consumer. In human services, consumers are potentially producers and to the extent that they are involved as producers, the effectiveness of the services will be enhanced. No specific recom-

mendation is offered on the activities to be undertaken by MACs in human services. These are for the individual MACs to consider, and different MACs may do different things. The last thing one would like to see is standardization of activities as exists at present. Participatory urban services may prosper only when they are geared to the felt needs of citizens. They must, therefore, be programed and organized at the level where they are to be delivered and consumed.

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Conclusions

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Self-help and community participation have been age-old traditions by which people in rural Asia have satisfied their basic needs. In the cities, however, such methods of delivering basic services have only recently been developed and with varying degrees of success. The foregoing chapters clearly depicted the diverse circumstances under which urban dwellers were involved in improving different types of services. This chapter will recapitulate some of these circumstances before the common issues are highlighted and policy recommendations outlined.

First, the country studies were conducted under different geographical and functional settings, notwithstanding their common urban milieu. The *Saemaul Undong*, as applied in 10 communities in four cities in Korea, is a national movement that, having found immense success in rural areas, was extended to urban communities. The Philippine study focused on low-income communities within the three largest cities in the country. Although the basic services examined and the conditions under which these were provided would be comparable to other similarly situated Philippine urban communities, emphasis was placed on the quest for approaches to improve basic services through more active joint participation by the people, the community, and the government. The Indonesian study also centred around low-income communities, almost "urban villages," in two cities on two large islands located almost 1500 km apart. The fundamental administrative structures, however, were found to be the same and the focus of the study was to seek ways to diversify and improve service activities within existing institutional and financial constraints. Unlike the other studies, the Malaysian case study was an intensive comparison of two types of work environments — the formal and informal sectors — in two parts of the Island of Penang resulting from a major restructuring of the economy and labour force since the adoption of the strategy of free trade zones for rapid economic development in the late 1960s. Of special interest was the service needs of a subset of the population — the young, predominantly female workers drawn locally or from other states of Malaysia to new economic opportunities of industrial employment. The scope of the study was sharply focused on one state in Malaysia, but the policy implications are patently national, even regional. Finally, the Hong Kong study was particularly concerned with the effectiveness of intermediate organizations in facilitating the government to improve service delivery to the population at large.

The countries represented in this study are diverse in their level of economic development and types of economy. In terms of per capita gross national product and patterns of urban development, Hong Kong and Korea may be considered at one end of a continuum with their high-rise, high-density living, intensive industrialization, and Confucian culture. At the other end of the continuum is Indonesia and the Philippines, in which urban villages with strong rural links and daily life

revolving around kinship, ethnic, and religious ascriptions are commonly found. In many low-income communities in these countries a carryover of the traditional community self-help spirit from rural areas is much in evidence. Between these two sets of countries is Malaysia, specifically Penang, which is mixed not only in its residential environments but in its different service provisions in the formal and informal sectors.

Given the differences in the scale of service operation and level of development, the services studied and required by the people concerned were very divergent. In Hong Kong, for instance, and to some extent in Korean cities, it is largely beyond the basic services of water, electricity, sewerage, and fire protection that are in critical need. What is generally sought are services that will enhance the quality of life, i.e., services of a cultural and social nature. On the other hand, despite some recent notable improvements in the basic infrastructure of Indonesian kampungs and Philippine squatter settlements, the physical environment is as much in need of upgrading as the provision of many deficient social services. Again, the Penang study is somewhere in between as the young workers represent a segment of the total population whose needs are quite specific to the form of development, specifically rapid industrialization.

One factor that relates the types of services provided in the five countries appears to be the degree of government involvement. The country case studies have shown that government involvement, through financial provisions, planning, and personnel, is most evident in Hong Kong and Korea. Consequently, the nature of participation by the people in their desire to improve urban services is one that may be described as being a partnership with the government, i.e., the government has a definite say as to the content and manner in which urban services are to be improved and implemented. The Hong Kong study, in particular, indicates that in the special urban environment of that territory the scope of self-help participation in the true sense of the term is rather limited. At the other extreme, the studies in Indonesia and the Philippines have demonstrated the promising scope, indeed necessity, of the inhabitants to organize themselves to make available some basic services the government fails to provide and to deliver other services to improve their well being. The results of the studies seem to suggest that in many cases there is a lag in the ability of the public sector to develop an appropriate response to the problem of urban service delivery. It is significant that in at least two countries, Korea and Indonesia, the governments have attempted to adapt fairly successful institutional responses to the service delivery problem under the urban situation with limited success. In the case of Malaysia, it is only after 10 years of rapid urbanization and industrialization that they have begun to think about a government response to the more specialized needs of young urban workers.

On the basis of the discussion thus far, it is tempting to hypothesize that there is a temporal transition in the nature of services required by urban communities along with a varying degree of government involvement. The study results appear to lend some support to the proposition that as the level of development increases, there is greater government involvement in the provision of urban services with a corresponding decline in the scope of or need for self-help activities. This hypothesis could not be rigourously tested in this study, but one way to further verify this proposition is to study a select number of countries over time and select other countries not covered in this exploratory inquiry. After all, this study concentrated on countries in East and Southeast Asia. It has to be noted that self-help and community participation traditions are well developed in South Asia and the Middle

East. Similar studies in these parts of Asia may uncover evidence to support or refute the hypothesis.

Within the countries under study, several ideological positions may be distinguished in their respective attempts to broaden and improve urban services. In the case of Korea, public paternalism in the guise of clear government directives and initiatives, much in the mould of *Saemaul Undong* as practiced in rural areas, looms large. It was argued that this interventionist approach tended to counteract residents' participation. The Hong Kong study pointed to the pragmatic nature of service provision involving the people and the government. The organizational structure as of 1982, when the study was undertaken, suffered certain deficiencies. Local leadership was weak and activities organized by it were not always complementary to government initiatives. However, it must be mentioned that as a result of the publication of a Green Paper and subsequent extensive consultation in 1981, District Boards were established in each of the 18 districts in Hong Kong. At the same time, the District Management Committee, headed by the District Officer, was established, providing a forum for interdepartmental consultation and liaison. In early 1984, the district administrative framework was further strengthened by doubling the number of elected members and establishing a second higher level council in the area not covered by the existing urban council. Thus, it is important to note that parallel to the recommendations of the Hong Kong study, rather than as a result of it, the government has already taken steps to strengthen local government and in the process broaden and encourage a wider base of public participation. In view of the political transition toward 1997, the trend to decentralize and devolve administrative powers to the local level can only accelerate.

The ideological position assumed by the Philippine approach to urban service provision may be characterized as one that recognizes the inadequacy of a top-down service delivery model and of bottom-up, self-help, grass-roots alternatives. The focus is on participatory service management, in which the joint efforts of the government and community are examined for better service delivery. In Indonesian kampungs, the philosophical underpinning of all government programs was built on the "trickle-down" premise. The logic is to harness the potential extant in the more advantaged individuals and families to assist the less advantaged. Whether or not this approach met its stated goals is quite a different matter. Finally, in the Malaysian study, as far as service provision is concerned, corporate welfarism in the formal sector is starkly contrasted with the more integrative and sensitive approach in the informal sector.

Common Themes

It would be ideal if the five countries studied could be situated in a coherent theoretical or conceptual framework. However, multiple dimensions of variation in the different countries do not permit neat correlation of issues or analysis of relationships. What is being attempted in this section is to draw together the salient themes that have recurred in the case studies and make observations on them.

In the organization of participatory urban services, one of the critical questions to resolve is the best geographic and demographic unit for functional efficiency. Is there a threshold size at which urban services can be effectively organized by the people themselves? Are existing administrative units viable surrogates for this purpose? In the studies in Indonesia and the Philippines, the lowest administrative

units, namely the *kelurahan* and the barangay, respectively, are organic entities within which urban services are organized. They are convenient building blocks for urban services to be extended or organized in urban areas because of the existence of effective leadership. In Korea, present organization of participatory urban services is undertaken at the *dong* level. The study concluded, however, that the *dong* is too large a functional unit to be really effective. At this level, it is particularly difficult to create a sense of social cohesiveness among the residents. The lower administrative unit, *tong* or *ban*, on the other hand, is considered to be too small. Consequently, it is proposed that two or three *tongs* be unified as a superior functional unit that if adopted for implementation, will entail massive reorganization of service delivery within urban Korea. In the case of Hong Kong, ready association of geographic and administrative districts has made them convenient units in which to organize participatory services. There are 18 such districts in Hong Kong but, with the ongoing move to encourage the people to participate more in their own affairs, including improvement of urban services, whether these districts need to be further subdivided would depend on the changing political climate and the articulation of needs by the populace. When the felt need for services is location specific and clearly spelled out, much smaller functional units can often be highly effective. To combat the problem of crime, for example, countless mutual aid committees, usually on the basis of a block of high-rise flats, have been successfully established and run in many parts of the territory.

As participatory urban services are people-based, it is not uncommon that strong leadership and successful delivery are positively related. Leadership may be formal or informal. In Krus na Ligas, one of the study communities located in Diliman in Metro Manila, there are six types of formal organizations and five informal groupings all with their own leaders. Leadership structures are especially well developed in the barangay. This extensive network of leadership within an urban community in the Philippines is much preferred to the system found in Indonesian kampungs in which leadership is centralized in the *lurah*. The *lurah* is an appointed head of LKMD (Organization of Community Security), the unit responsible for delivering basic services at the community level. With the responsibility of implementing service programs so heavily centred on one individual, the likelihood of ineffective delivery is much greater. Similarly, *dong* leaders in urban *Saemaul Undong* are appointed. Installed leadership is necessary when there is a shortage of competent leaders in the community. In Hong Kong, most of the leaders were drawn from voluntary associations and as such their relationship with government is quite different from that in other areas. An important finding that emerged from all the country studies is that leadership is perhaps the most critical factor in the success of any participatory urban service. Many studies identified weaknesses in present leadership, such as a lack of dynamism, inadequate training, and poor communication skills. Almost every case study pointed to the need for improving leadership qualities if participatory urban services were to improve further. In this respect, several studies recommended better training for leaders, both formally and informally. In passing, it may be mentioned that in the urban kampungs in Indonesia, activities organized by housewives are frequently successful and well participated in. This shows not only the important role of women in many community activities but also the existence of a pool of potential informal leaders in these communities.

One of the main responsibilities of leaders in urban communities, it was argued, is to help residents to articulate their needs for services in a more effective

and organized way. In the kampungs studied in Indonesia, for example, the government's package of services does not reach the lowest socioeconomic groups. The real needs and problems of the community at large are quite different from those provided for by government programs. A similar situation is found in Penang, where government programs have been slow to react to the needs and problems of young workers. As a result, they have to turn to a host of nongovernmental organizations that have been far more successful in identifying and meeting the needs of a new work force. In the Mutual Aid Committees in Hong Kong, the ambiguity of objectives together with the lack of close interaction between local leaders and residents has led to the failure of felt needs to be articulated. It was concluded that participatory services would prosper if these were geared to the genuine needs of the citizens.

Different perceptions of the needs of an urban community by the residents as opposed to the delivery organizations bedevil many well-intentioned efforts and result in low rates of participation and success. Effective leadership in an urban community means identification of needs, consensus seeking, and finally an ability to respond to community needs successfully. This was achieved to some degree of success in the community management cycle in the study communities in the Philippines.

Varying perceptions of the needs of an urban community lead to the next issue, the nature and scope of activities that community participation should focus upon. The Korean study concluded that the activities pursued in the urban communities under study were not diversified enough to cater to a broad spectrum of needs. In part this is a consequence of a government bias that tends to favour community-wide and basic physical services at the expense of socioeconomic services specific to individual communities. The study advocated a shift in activities toward improving household economy and income generation along with cultural activities. In a similar vein, the Indonesian study strongly suggested a more accurate needs assessment within individual kampungs before any decision can be taken to implement urban services. The programs presently being implemented in these communities were initially developed for rural areas and are, therefore, insensitive to the heterogeneity of the urban population. It was suggested that the main problems in the kampungs were unemployment, housing, and capital accumulation. Government or community programs must recognize these needs and design programs and activities that will alleviate immediate needs. Finally, in the urban communities studied in the Philippines the most critical shortages of services were in water, sanitation facilities, and garbage disposal. These should be high priority concerns in any attempt to improve the living environment there.

The last two issues about need articulation and the nature of activities to be pursued by community participation hinge on the availability of information being funneled upward or downward. Ideally, information should flow freely among four different levels — individual, household, community, and state — so that the best strategies can be adopted to meet the socioeconomic needs of each urban community. In the country studies, different mechanisms have been developed to facilitate the flow of needed information in either direction with varying degrees of success. In Hong Kong, the District Board meetings are occasions at which major changes affecting the urban community can be discussed and decided upon. In the barangays in urban Philippines, well-developed formal and informal leadership structures have been most useful in promoting effective communication among the actors in question. Consequently, a participatory management model could be developed that

depended upon the active contribution of all actors, in particular the community and the government, for the improvement of basic services. All things being equal, the more information that flows among the four different levels, the more likely urban service delivery will be effective.

Finally, an issue that is implicit in all the country studies concerns the success and failure of the mechanism of participatory urban services. Measurement of success is extremely difficult across nations given the diverse socioeconomic and cultural settings. What may be generalized is that there are elements of success and failure in almost all the mechanisms that have evolved. Befitting the various country situations, different methods have been chosen to respond to similar problems. Some of the plausible criteria that may be used to measure success include access to services within the community, the extent of participation, visible physical improvement, and a qualitative change in daily life. The study did not specifically design measures to determine success, but the previous chapters should give the reader the basis upon which approximate degrees of success can be measured along the suggested dimensions.

Policy Recommendations

As the country studies addressed relevant concerns under different situations, specific and detailed policy recommendations may be found in the respective country reports. This last section will attempt to pull together some of the common threads that run through the country studies as they may have applicability and relevance to the participating countries and others in the region.

As participatory urban services are dependent upon people's active involvement if they are to succeed, the most practical recommendation is to expand residents' awareness of the need for and scope of such activities and their essential roles in bringing these to fruition. If more people can be involved at all stages of service provision, including planning, implementation, and evaluation, it is more likely that the service will be provided. As the preceding section alluded to, this multiple-stage process will entail needs identification, consensus seeking, a free flow of information, community involvement, and monitoring and assessment of results. The Philippine model in this study appears to come closest to this ideal.

Community and self-help services cannot be organized overnight, A step-by-step and incremental process of mobilization and organization, on the basis of the Hong Kong experience, is seemingly a sound approach that can be recommended for other countries interested in community activities.

In almost every study, the mismatch between residents' needs and actual programs was perceived. It was recommended that service delivery agencies should examine the hierarchy of needs that may be distinguished in many ways. Some of these are essential versus supplementary; others are basic and economic versus cultural and social; still others are production oriented versus consumer oriented. Upon clearer identification and verification of needs, almost every community can consider a shift in or broadening of existing programs and activities. It is recommended, therefore, that governments expand their programs of community development.

The studies were unanimous about the importance of leadership for effective participatory urban services. Leaders have to be identified, trained, and nurtured.

Wherever possible, leaders must be trained and educated to acquire the necessary skills and qualities. In urban *Saemaul Undong*, for instance, it is necessary for leaders to have a knowledge of technical procedures to be able to perform certain tasks. Similarly, residents need to be educated and trained as a majority of them are too poorly educated to comprehend the complexities of existing bureaucratic procedures. A case in point is in the kampungs in Indonesia, where the intricate bureaucracy surrounding the *kelurahan* has inhibited most residents in the lowest socioeconomic groups to articulate their needs through the *lurah*. The studies recommended more flexible and decentralized responses to expressed needs within existing institutional structures. This may involve devolution of authority to local administrative offices or setting up new institutions, such as the nongovernmental organization in Penang.

In the same spirit of greater local autonomy, the studies recommended that, where relevant, government financial assistance should be accompanied by only broad guidelines so that the community can set its own priorities with respect to what services to provide. The Hong Kong study recommended one step further, i.e., incorporating community groups in the allocation of financial resources in the annual budgeting process.

From a policy point of view, it is possible to recognize a cluster of policy priorities for governments and another set for local communities. For governments in the region, there is clearly a need to improve the following aspects of urban service delivery systems: (1) information on urban service needs; (2) flexibility in developing urban service delivery systems by reacting to the level of community organization and priorities for needs; (3) quality and training of leaders and administrators involved in urban service delivery schemes; (4) understanding the level of existing community resources; (5) willingness to involve a wide spectrum of community resources, including nongovernmental organizations, political parties, and religious organizations already active in urban areas; and (6) coordination of institutional responses to urban service delivery that are often spread among a plethora of departments.

For urban communities, policy options are rather different, for they must develop more effective means to: (1) communicate their needs to the government, (2) develop new participatory activities, and (3) create more community awareness of their needs.

It is particularly with respect to the less advantaged in these Asian cities that the need to develop these responses is most crucial. It is these groups that have the least economic capacity to satisfy these needs. Therefore, it seems necessary to suggest policies that increase community control over their resources. In such propositions, there is often a delicate balance between government paternalism and community activism that can only be resolved in each city situation. Clearly, this is a crucial area for further policy information and formulation.

In conclusion, this study has provided five models of participatory urban services in Asia. Each has its own strengths and weaknesses and has evolved to suit its societal context. It is unlikely that any one of these models can be transferred or adopted wholesale outside its social and cultural milieu. Nevertheless, there are elements in each that may lend themselves to selective application in other urban settings concerned with the problem of involving the people to improve their lives and their living environment.

The results of the five studies emphasize that governments are not unaware of the need to improve urban service delivery programs. Nor are urban communities unaware of their needs. The problem is how to develop effective responses. This is both a challenge and a necessity for it is clear that the growth of urban centres in these countries is inevitable and the need to deliver urban services will not disappear. To this extent all governments are in the same situation and need to learn from common experiences related to the problem.

Urban Services in Asia: A Selected Bibliography

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Appendix: Currency Conversion.[a]

Korea	KRW 650	= USD 1.00
Philippines	PHP 7.50	= USD 1.00
Malaysia	MYR 2.20	= USD 1.00
Indonesia	IDR 600	= USD 1.00
Hong Kong	HKD 5.50	= USD 1.00

[a]In effect at the time the papers were prepared.